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# MODERN PHILOLOGY

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*A Journal devoted to research in  
Modern Languages and Literatures*

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# MODERN PHILOLOGY

A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO RESEARCH IN  
MODERN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

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## "DIE LOSGEKAUFTE"

THE German ballad, "Die Losgekaufte," begins in *mediis rebus*. A young girl pleads with a seaman for her freedom; she asks to see her father, who surely will not forsake her. He comes and is asked to forfeit something to save her, but he refuses. The mother comes and also refuses to do anything to free her. In a like manner her brother and sister forsake her. When all blood relatives abandon her, she pleads with her sweetheart, who unhesitatingly offers whatever is asked of him to save her.<sup>1</sup>

This paper will treat only the German songs. The material for the following discussion consists of thirteen different songs, dating roughly from 1750 to 1875, and coming from all parts of Germany.<sup>2</sup> They are scattered as follows: one from Schleswig, three from Westphalia, one from the Rhine Province, one from the Palatinate, two from Saxony, one from Brandenburg, one from Silesia, one from Württemberg, and two from unrecorded places.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The narrative lacks all motivation, which causes one to speculate as to why the whole family refused to free the girl, when really so little was asked—the forfeits range from a high hat to a house and home. Has she been cast out by her family on account of her affiliations with her lover? Or is it a prearranged sham to test the lover? On the other hand there may have been current a sea-robber tale upon which the song was based, and this tale was so popular that motivation in the song was deemed unnecessary; this tale then died while the song lived on.

<sup>2</sup> The material for the further study of this ballad has been assembled by Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, II, 346–55, 514; III, 516; IV, 481; V, 231, 296, and H. Grüner-Nielsen in *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (ed. Grundtvig and Olrik), VIII, 445–65.

<sup>3</sup> (1) Schleswig (1750): Gräter, *Idunna und Hermode* (1814), p. 76 = Erk und Böhme, *Deut. Liederhort* (Ldh.), I (1893), 271, 78a = O. Böckel, *Handb. des deut. Volksl.*, p. 153; (2) no location (1819): Fr. Kind, *Abendzeitung* (1819), No. 164 = Erk und Böhme, *op. cit.*, p. 271, 78a (notes); (3) Brandenburg (1850): Erk und Böhme, *ibid.*, p. 273, 78b; (4) Halle (1837): Erk und Böhme, *ibid.*, p. 274, 78c = Erk und Irmer, *Die deut. Volkslieder I* (1843),

Since the first stanza of this song is so important, for it serves as a model for all subsequent stanzas, we can profitably make a thorough study of it at once.<sup>1</sup> Below are given two first stanzas:

2 Schiffmann, lass das Schiffchen versinken,  
Lass das schwarzbraune Mädchen ertrinken.  
Halt, ach halt, mein Schiffmann halt!  
Ich habe noch einen Vater zu Haus;  
Der wird mich nicht verlassen.  
Ach Vater mein!  
Verkauf du deinen goldnen Stier  
Und rett das junge Leben mir!  
Ach, Vater mein!  
Meinen roten Stier verkauf ich nicht,  
Dein junges Leben rett ich nicht.

9 Ach Schiffmann, du für guten Trunk,  
Lass du das Schiffchen stille stehen,  
Ich habe noch einen Vater zu Haus,  
Der lässt mich nicht ertrinken.  
Der Vater kam zu der Thür gegangen,  
Und sah die Tochter in Trauren stehen.  
Ach Vater versetz deinen hohen Hut,  
Dass ich hier nicht ertrinke!  
Den hohen Hut versetz ich nicht,  
Dein junges Leben rett ich nicht.  
Ach Schiffmann, du für guten Trunk,  
La du dat Schipken rümme gahn,  
La dat swartbrun Mäken to Grunne gahn.

Nothing can be deduced as to the number of lines in this stanza for there seems to be no regularity in this respect; we have a very

2, 53; (5) Bökendorf (ca. 1815): Erk und Böhme, *op. cit.*, p. 267, 78d = Reifferscheid, *Westfälische Lieder*, p. 10; (6) Schönebeck (1878): Erk und Böhme, *op. cit.*, p. 277, 78e; (7) Münsterland (1844): Meier und Seemann, *Jahrbuch f. Volkslied Forschung*, I (1928): 114-15, No. 30 (by Droste-Hülshoff) = L. Uhland, *Alte hoch- und niederdeutsche Volksl.* (1845), p. 267, No. 117 = Mittler, *Deut. Volksl.*, p. 54 = Scherer, *Jungbrunnen*, p. 55 = O. Böckel, *op. cit.*, p. 153; (8) Bonn (1856): Kretzschmar und Zuccalmaglio, *Deut. Volksl.*, II (1838), 54 = Mittler, *op. cit.* (1856), p. 55; (9) Paderborn (1879): Reifferscheid, *op. cit.*, p. 138; (10) Bosenbach (1909): Heeger und Wüst, *Volksl. aus der Rheinpfalz*, I, 61 = J. Beifus, *Die bunte Garbe* (1912), p. 173; (11) no location (1851): K. Simrock, *Die deut. Volksl.* (1851), No. 39; (12) Gragig (1842): Hoffmann und Richter, *Schlesische Volksl.* (1842), p. 43, No. 23; (13) Tübingen (1819): Haug, *Poetischer Lustwald*, p. 264 = F. Erlach, *Die Volksl. der Deutschen*, III (1843), 190 = Kretzschmar und Zuccalmaglio, *op. cit.*, I (1838), 181, No. 102; (14) H. Krapp, *Odenwälder Spinnstube* (1904), No. 213 (this text is inaccessible). These will be referred to henceforth by their numbers.

<sup>1</sup> The forfeits which vary from stanza to stanza, in accordance with the persons, will be treated at length later.

wide difference, from ten lines in 1 to eighteen in 4. Very few songs have the same number of lines in the stanza. However, this irregularity warns us at once that the song has undergone many changes; either it was expanded or contracted.

An examination as to the rhyme scheme reveals that, for the most part, there is none, except in 13, which has evident marks of flagrant *Zersungenheit*, to be discussed in a subsequent paragraph. The other indications of rhyme occur in no definite, prescribed order, but occur rather at random and in different parts of the stanza; as:

2 Verkauf du deinen golden Stier,  
Und rett das junge Leben mir.

4 Ach Schiffmann, du fein guter Mann,  
Lass doch das Schiff am Rande stahn.  
  
Eh ich meinen roten Rock entbehr,  
So wollt ich doch nun nimmermehr.

5 La du dat swartbrun Mäken to Grunne gahn,  
O Schipmann, O Schipmann.  
  
O Vater verkauf deinen roten Rock,  
Und rett mein junges Leben doch.

6, 11 Ach Schiffmann, du fein guter Mann,  
Lat du dat Schiff to Lanne gahn.

7 Lass du das Fähnlein rumme drehen,  
Lass du das Schifflin unter gehen.

12 Ach Schiffmann, du fein guter Mann,  
Lass doch das Schiff zu Lande fahr'n.

These rhymes are often bad, if rhymes at all, and of those just quoted, the *Stier—mir* 2 and *Rock—doch* 5, seem forced. Several of our texts, among them our oldest text 1, of 1750, and the more recent texts 8, 9, 12, have no rhyme. In view of (a) the scanty rhyme, which may occur anywhere, without any definite rhyme scheme; (b) the lack of rhyme in four songs, including our oldest text; and (c) the absence of all rhyme, excepting *sinken—ertrinken* in 3, 10, the deduction follows that our song in its oldest form did not have rhyme.

The *sinken—ertrinken* rhyme mentioned above is so persistent

that we shall discuss it separately. It occurs in 2, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 12 in some such form as the following:

3 Ach Schiffmann, lass nur sinken!  
Die schöne Magdalen die soll ertrinken.

It appears at the end of the stanza in all cases excepting 2, 6. The very nature of the expression indicates clearly that these words are spoken by the defiant father, after he refuses to save his daughter, and they are not, as in 2, 6, a threat on the part of the seaman, spoken before the girl herself speaks. Furthermore, in 6 we find the girl's name, Amalia, which is, of course, in place in the father's mouth. We can, therefore, deduce that these lines belonged at the end of the stanza. The same holds true of 5, 7, which are quoted on the preceding page; moreover, 5 employs these lines both before and after the girl's speech. In 8 we see a mixture of two ideas which prevented a rhyme; the singer combined one line of each of the two groups we have just discussed, resulting in:

8 Lass's Schifflein nur zu Grunde gehn,  
Die schöne Adelheid die soll im Meer ertrinken.

In 5, 9 we find *ertrinken* in the girl's speech. It is interesting to note that in 5, 9 the rhyme *sinken—ertrinken* is missing, likely because of the *ertrinken* in the girl's speech, and it is also significant that the omission of this thought is then compensated for by the addition of the Low German expression: "La dat swartbrun Mäken to Grunne gahn." We shall show later (a) that 5, 9 are so closely interrelated that for our purposes of discussion they resolve themselves into but one text,<sup>1</sup> and (b) that *ertrinken* is a substitute for *verlassen*.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the *ertrinken* in the girl's line came either from the *sinken—ertrinken* rhyme or developed spontaneously. This deduction is further substantiated by the fact that the *sinken—ertrinken* rhyme occurred as early as 1819, in 2, while 5, 9 are dated some fifty years later.

In the Westphalian 5, 7, 9 and in the Saxon song 6 there appears this same Low German addition, which is quite conspicuous in an otherwise High German song. Of these, 6 has its first stanza sprinkled with Low German, but the text is, in all other respects, not unlike its Saxon neighbor, song 4. This group 5, 6, 7, 9 differs from all others in

<sup>1</sup> See p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 136.

the addition of the Low German passage, which serves here exactly the same purpose as the *sinke*—*ertrinke* line. The expression *swartbrun Mäken*, or its High German equivalent, is no doubt a commonplace,<sup>1</sup> and the whole expression may well be a *Wanderzeile*, as is plainly indicated in 9, where the sweetheart in closing sings: "La dat swartbrun Mäken tom Danze gehn." Here the expression is dragged in even though it is entirely out of place.

In the discussion of the stanza's conclusion, we have thus far arrived at two things: (a) a large number of songs have the *sinke*—*ertrinke* rhyme and (b) a small number have the more or less perfectly rhymed Low German couplet. Over against this majority stand our two oldest texts with essentially the same conclusion, for 1 ends "Fahr, Schiffer, fahr!" and 13 ends "Fahr zu, Schiffer, zu!" Different as these two sets of endings may seem at first sight, we observe after a close study that they do not differ essentially inasmuch as they both serve exactly the same purpose. The *sinke*—*ertrinke* line violates one chief characteristic of our song; namely, non-rhyme. It states specifically what disposition is to be made of the unfortunate girl. The Low German addition does, in a general way, the same thing, both as to rhyme and as to the fate of the maiden. The "Fahr, Schiffer, fahr!" line is dramatic, forceful, and poetic, leaving the hearer to elaborate, as he chooses, the suggestive command; in the other expressions, on the contrary, the hearer need not elaborate, for he is told all. Since they serve the same purpose, we must decide which is the original and which is a subsequent development. From the numerical standpoint the weight of evidence is, of course, in favor of the *sinke*—*ertrinke* idea, while the *fahr* line, which dates back to 1750, has age in its favor. It is evident that these two ideas, one expressed in three well-chosen words and the other expressed in two somewhat poorly rhymed lines, come one from the other. It is absolutely inconceivable that the three words "Fahr, Schiffer, fahr!" could have come from the other lines, in view of the fact that they are about one hundred and fifty years older than the rhyming lines. Furthermore, if that were possible, would it be likely that the singer would disregard a splendid rhyme and make of it a short non-rhyming line? And is it reasonable that the man would sink his boat? More-

<sup>1</sup> Erk und Böhme, No. 79b (stanza 2), I, 279.

over, any of the other lines could readily have developed from the short line, by an explanatory expansion. Besides, the *sinken*—*ertrinken* as a rhyme in a sea story is common and almost inevitable. It would be quite natural for the folk to explain thus by expansion, in more commonplace manner, the highly suggestive, dramatic, terse “Fahr, Schiffer, fahr!”

With the foregoing argument in mind, let us examine critically the first line of this fundamental stanza. We have already shown that the introductions in which someone other than the maiden speaks are spurious; the song indubitably began with her speech, as indeed it does in nearly all the versions. The first line spoken by the captive maiden, “Halt, etc.,” or the like, occur in 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 10, 13; “Du fein guter Mann” in 3, 4, 6, 11, 12; “vör goden Dank” in 5; and “für guten Trunk” in 9. The two latter (5, 9) are no doubt interrelated since either phrase could easily have become the other. In 9 the assignment of the phrase to the maiden fits the course of the song, for she is pleading with the seaman, while in 5 someone else with these words bids the seaman let her *to Grunne gahn*, which, as we have already shown, belongs at the end of the first stanza. This would indicate that 9 evolved from 5, for the *du vör goden Dank* belongs at the end, while the other similar expression, which is plainly an addition, does not violate the sense and the course of the story by remaining at the beginning. To bear out this deduction we find a bit of evidence in a discrepancy in 9; “Dass ich hier nicht ertrinke,”<sup>1</sup> which, according to the regular method of stanza structure,<sup>2</sup> should be “Und rett mein junges Leben.” In 3 occurs a combination showing distinctly that the singer was familiar with two beginnings, for he sings

Ach Schiffmann, du fein gütiger Mann,  
Halt nur dein Schiff so lange du kannst,

while in the rest of the group 4, 6, 11, 12 the second line, instead of being as the one above, runs

Lass doch das Schiff	{	am Rande stahn to Lanne gahn zu Lande gahn zu Lande fahr'n,
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<sup>1</sup> See 9, p. 130, l. 8.

<sup>2</sup> See 2, p. 130, l. 8; also p. 137.



which line entirely supplants the *halt* idea of which we still found the trace in 3, mentioned above. Concerning these first lines, we must now decide between these two groups: (1) "Halt, Schiffer, halt!" and (2) "Ach Schiffmann, du fein guter Mann." The former (1) is more significant by virtue of (a) its numerical superiority, (b) its wider distribution, (c) its appropriateness to the story, and (d) its presence in our oldest text. On the other hand, the group 3, 4, 6, 11, 12 are clearly interrelated, both by similarity of content and location. Therefore, we must conclude that the "Halt, Schiffer, halt!" is the older. Thus far we have arrived at two truly poetic lines, one at the beginning and the other at the end of the stanza, and we are struck by their balance, suggestiveness, dramatic force, and brevity, all qualities which could belong nowhere but in a *Kunstlied*.

There remains now but to see how this accretion in the first line came about. In 2, 7, 8, 10 we discover no great change but rather a simple expansion, probably due to the singer's desire to have this line as long as the subsequent lines, perhaps on account of the music's requiring it. This expansion is obtained by adding or repeating, as in 8: "Ach Schiffmann, lieber Schiffmann, halt, halt, halt, halt, halt," which retains the idea very well, without any great alteration. Then follow more drastic changes, as, for example, in 3:

Ach Schiffmann, du fein guter Mann,  
Halt nur dein Schiff so lange du kannst.

Here the singer wanted the girl to flatter the seaman, hence the added bit; then there remains still the *halt* idea, and we have the addition of a whole line, which in this particular case does not rhyme. In some such manner, we have the group of beginnings in which *Mann* rhymes more or less perfectly with *stahn* (4), *gahn* (6, 11), *fahr'n* (12), which are again evident additions, varying with the singer, but conveying practically the same meaning as the more emphatic and terse "Halt, Schiffer, halt!"

It is altogether reasonable that if one shorter line in a song was expanded, that any opposite, similar, or balanced line in the same stanza should suffer similar mutation. We have shown that this happened in the first and last lines of the fundamental stanza, where in each case the short, expressive line was expanded into two lines which had a tendency to rhyme.

We shall now consider the shorter line "Ach Vater mein," which occurs about the middle of the first stanza. It occurs as "Ach Vater mein," or the equivalent, in 1, 2, 8; as "Ach Vater" or "O Vater" in 4, 11, 6, 7; and in all the remaining versions where it does not appear in one of these two forms, it is incorporated in the immediately subsequent line, as: "Ach Vater, versetz du deinen roten Rock," or the like. It is interesting to observe that our two oldest versions 1, 13 differ, while in the comparison of their first and last lines they were almost identical. The reason for this is evident upon examination of the mutilated version 13, which is unmistakably a worked-over text with additions, rhyme throughout, and other signs of *Zersungenheit*. The rhyme scheme is *abbacdcdeed*, and the middle short line, similar to the first and last line, simply fell a victim to rhyme, which here seemed more important to the singer. However, the "Ach" appeared, although in an entirely different combination. The presence of "Ach Vater" in every version proves conclusively that this combination was in the oldest form of our song. It is evident from the wide distribution of the "Ach Vater" as a short line, that it remained, as such, fairly well. It is altogether probable that the short line here, as in the other two short lines, suffered expansion. In this process the "Ach Vater" lost its identity as part of a short line and was consequently assimilated as the beginning of the long line, which indeed supplanted it in several versions. This short line, then, as the other two, suffered similarly from expansion, and by the same argument as employed in discussing the other two lines, the expansions and variations derive from our oldest version 1, of 1750.

"Der wird mich nicht verlassen" appears in 1, 2, 7; "er liebet mich und löset mich aus diesem Schiff," in 3, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12; "lasst mich nicht ertrinken," in 5, 9; "er liebet mich," in 10; "von Sklavenketten erretten," in 13. Again we observe that the tendency is, as it has been in the lines discussed, to be rather specific or to explain by expansion. *Verlassen* becomes not simply 'to desert,' but 'to deliver from the ship,' 'to prevent from drowning,' 'to save from the chains of slavery'—all explanatory additions which vary with the whims of the singers, and which might easily evolve from *verlassen*.

"Der Vater kam gegangen," with the three exceptions 2, 5, 7, appears in all the versions with but very slight changes, and therefore

belongs to the oldest form. Moreover, there is a distinct need for this line in the songs where it has been omitted.

*Versetzen* appears in 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 13; *verkaufen*, in 2, 5, 7; *geben*, in 4, 11, 12. Of these the first group has numerical superiority and wider distribution. The last two groups, which could readily develop from the former, are few in number and are confined in each case to a definite small area. Therefore, *versetzen* was no doubt the word used in the oldest song.

"Und rett mein junges Leben" occurs in 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13. In 3 the maiden says, "Versetz deinen Rock und löse mich," and the father replies, "Meinen roten Rock versetz ich nicht, dein junges Leben rett ich nicht." Likewise, in 9, "Versetz deinen Hut, dass ich nicht ertrinke" is answered as usual anent the hat, but the speaker continues, "Dein junges Leben rett ich nicht." Since the father regularly answers his daughter with the same verb that she uses, such violations of the rule show how firmly rooted in this song is the phrase, "Und rett mein junges Leben." There is not a doubt that this expression belongs to the oldest form of our song.

We have shown that all the elements, details as well as form, of the first stanza go back in every instance to the oldest version 1, the song with all the signs of a *Kunstlied*.

Below is given in abstract version 1, of 1750:

Halt, Schiffer, halt!  
 Ich habe noch einen Vater,  
 Der wir mich nicht verlassen, verlan.  
 Der Vater kam gegangen.  
 Ach Vater mein!  
 Versetze er seinen braunen Rock,  
 Und rett mein junges Leben.  
 Meinen braunen Rock versetz ich nicht,  
 Dein junges Leben rett ich nicht.  
 Fahr, Schiffer, fahr!

MUTTER: Versetze sie ihre goldne Kette,

BRUDER: Versetz du deine silbern' Schnall'n,

SCHWESTER: Versetz du deinen weissen Platen,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Platen* is North German for *Schürze* or *Vortuch*.

LIEBSTER: Versetz du dein blankes Schwert,  
 Und rett mein junges Leben.  
 Mein blankes Schwert versetz ich wohl,  
 Dein junges Leben rett' ich wohl.  
 Halt, Schiffer, halt!

The study of this song immediately convinces one that it is a *Kunstlied*, and that it very closely approaches perfection, in the art of songs. One is impressed by the consummate skill which is evident throughout. The first, middle, and last lines—short, impressive, dramatic, and poetic—strike the ear with force, and leave the hearer to interpret the richness of their suggestion. Moreover, their balance, similarity, and purpose indicate art in a high form. Their wealth of meaning may be observed by noting how the folk in their efforts to interpret the fulness of meaning expanded, explained, and *zersang*. Further, the girl addressed her father and mother, using the subjunctive of wish, *versetze er* and *versetze sie*, while she addressed her brother and sister with the familiar *du*, all of which clearly betokens the *Kunstlied*. And lastly, the two lines "Halt, Schiffer, halt," the one used by the girl at the very beginning of the song, and the other used by the sweetheart at the very end of the song—how well they are chosen! The first is the supplicative cry of a captive maiden, pleading with the seaman; the last is the exultant shout of a sweetheart, commanding the seaman.

There is no reason to doubt that the song had five stanzas originally, in the order so scrupulously followed; that is, father, mother, brother, sister, and sweetheart. In 13 only is this order violated; of course stanzas were at times lost, but in so far as possible in these defective songs the order is preserved. It is interesting to note that there is but one omission of a male member, the brother, in 2, while there are seven in which a female member was omitted, the mother in 5, 7, 11 and the sister in 2, 5, 7, 11. This may indicate a specific masculine tendency, or because of the similarity in 5, 7, 11 it may indicate simply the perpetuation of some previous omission of the two verses, for, as we shall show later,<sup>1</sup> 5, 7 are closely associated, and 2 (no location given) lies between 1 (Schleswig) and 7 (Westphalia), while 11 (no location given) bears striking resemblances to 5, 7.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 143.

The arrangement of the differentiating forfeits in these five stanzas, too, points to the same symmetrical, well-thought-out plan which is everywhere so evident:

- |                       |                     |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. roter Rock         | 4. weisser Platen   |
| 2. goldne Kette       | 5. blankes Schwert. |
| 3. silbern' Schnall'n |                     |

We shall at this point take up the matter of the varying forfeits asked, and attempt to explain the numerous changes, which are evident in the following tabulation:

Father	Mother	Brother	Sister	Sweetheart
1. brauner Rock	goldene Kette	silbern' Schnall'n	weisser Platen	blankes Schwert
2. goldner Stier	Silberzier	braunes Pferd	grüner Krans	ans Ruder verkaufen
3. schwarzer Rock	braunes Kleid	runder Hut	schöne Schuhe	blankes Schwert
4. roter Rock	braunes Kleid	roter Rock	goldner Ring	goldner Ring
5. roter Rock	schwarzes Tuch	braunes Ross	schwarzes Kleid	ans Ruder verkaufen
6. schwarzer Rock	goldner Ring	brauner Rock	goldnes Kleid	Haus und Hof
7. roter Rock	roter Rock	goldner Hut	Perlenkrans	ans Ruder verkaufen
8. Haus und Hof	roter Rock	blankes Schwert	weisses Kleid	goldnes Ross
9. hoher Hut	roter Rock	goldene Uhr	roter Rock	goldner Berg
10. schwarzer Hut	weisse Schürze	brauner Rock	Edelstein	goldner Ring
11. runder Hut	goldnes Kettlein	schwarzes Ross		ans Ruder verkaufen
12. runder Hut		silbern' Schnallen		blankes Schwert
13. feiner Leibrock				gutes Schwert

The bright sword is indicative of old tradition and was very likely in the original song, as it was the most indispensable and typical possession of the heroic youth. In the tabulations the *sword* appears in 1, 3, 12, 13 and selling himself to the oars in an equal number of songs 2, 5, 7, 11. Both the sword and the oars are in keeping with the story, but the sword seems the more logical, for the story is one of freeing the maiden. If he sells himself to the oars, what is to become of her, since her family has deserted her? The sword is retained in 9 where the brother is asked to give it. This is no doubt a misplacement, for the sword was beyond a doubt asked of the lover. This rather strengthens the sword idea, for it indicates that the singer of 9 knew that *sword* occurred somewhere; he put it in the brother's stanza and asked a *goldner Berg* of the sweetheart, which request is wholly preposterous, except as an emphasis of the sacrifice. Besides, 2, 5, 7 are strikingly alike in regard to forfeits asked and omissions of the same stanzas, while 2 is also faulty in its omission of two stanzas, though not the same two. The interrelationship of this group as over against the widespread distribution of the other group 1

(Schleswig), 3 (Brandenburg), 12 (Silesia), and 13 (Württemberg) leads us to select the sword as the original forfeit of the sweetheart.

An examination of the list of objects that the girl requested her family to give to save her life leads us to believe that they were of secondary value only. The majority of them are things to wear, either clothing or ornaments. In 8 the father is asked to give *Haus und Hof*, which is valuable indeed compared to the objects usually asked, as *Hut*, *Rock*, etc. This idea may have been the result of an attempt to right the seeming insignificance of the forfeits, and thus give a bit of motive for the father's flat refusal. Furthermore, the *Haus und Hof* as a forfeit is quite incompatible with the story of the song, for what would the seaman do with the forfeit if it were given to him? In 6 this same forfeit appears in the sweetheart's stanza, where it is, no doubt, out of place.

The father is asked to give up his coat in 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 13; the garment varies in color as follows: three are red, one is brown, two are black, and another is simply *fein*. In 9, 10, 11, 12 he is asked to give his hat, which probably is due to the natural association of *coat*—*hat*. The adjectives used of the hat vary as those used of the coat, and we see that these attributes are but products of the individual singers. In 2 the father is asked to give his golden bull, which will be discussed later. We find that *coat* appears twice in the mother's stanza (9, 10); three times in the brother's (5, 7, 11); and once in the sister's (12). This ubiquitous occurrence of *coat* leads to the deduction that it belonged somewhere in the original song. Therefore, we shall place it in the father's stanza, because (a) it there holds the numerical superiority and (b) this superiority is here strengthened by the fact that the first of a series is the easiest to remember. Besides, it is thus placed in our oldest song. The misplacement in the other stanzas is a natural one. In 5, 7 both the father and the brother are asked to give up their coats, while in 11 the father is asked for his hat and the brother for his coat. Of these, 5, 7 do not differentiate the forfeits, which looks suspicious of forgetfulness, and in 11 the father is asked for his hat, which of course puts the coat in the brother's stanza. The change in the mother's stanza is very readily made, for in both instances the same word *Rock*, which may mean either 'coat' or 'skirt,' is used.



The brother is asked to forfeit silver buckles in 1, 13; coat in 5, 7, 11; sword in 9; horse in 3, 6, 12; gold watch in 10; and hat in 4, 8. The horse in 3, 6, 12 and also the bull in 2 are incompatible with a pirate story; they give clear evidence of agricultural influence, which is further substantiated by the fact that 3, 6, 12 are quite far removed from the sea, and by the fact that in 4 the father in the last line of his stanza says, "Die schöne Bauerstochter soll ertrinken." This group of songs, by virtue of their propinquity, are interrelated. In 2, *goldner Stier* is inappropriate and the word *Stier* may actually have been the result of the singer's wanting a rhyme for *mir*. The gold watch in 10 sounds too modern to belong to any primitive song and is indubitably a modernization. The forfeits which are logical and fitting, then, resolve themselves into *hat* (coat) or *silver buckles*. Since the evidence proves that the father was asked to give *coat*, we can then eliminate *hat* as an associated by-product. This is further strengthened when we consider that there must have been a sharper differentiation in the original song than exists between *coat* and *hat*, for we have shown that the song was too well planned to overlook such little niceties. Moreover, we found that *hat* itself was used but twice in the brother's stanza, and four times in the father's, proving conclusively that *coat* did attract *hat*, and that they were readily interchanged. In view of these facts and in view of the presence of silver buckles in 1 (Schleswig) and 13 (Württemberg), dated 1750 and 1819, respectively, and the presence of *Silberzier* in 2, also of 1819, we conclude that *silver* is very old in the song. Accordingly, we shall assign *silver buckles* as the brother's forfeit; it differentiates the father's and the brother's stanzas and fits into the the spirit of the song.

Inasmuch as the word *golden* appears in every stanza, we may assume quite reasonably that it, too, was in the primitive song, in some form or other, as a ring or chain perhaps. The word *gold* is applied to bull, hat, wreath, horse, mountain, watch, etc., some of which are irrelevant, to say the least. It seems altogether possible that the golden object in the original provoked many, if not all, of these *golden's*. Since we find *golden* in the mother's stanza as *Kette* in 1, 13, and as *Ring* in 8, and not at all legitimately in the sister's stanza, we are compelled to attribute the *golden* to the mother's

verse in the form of *Kette*. The word *golden* must be removed entirely from consideration in the last three stanzas of 8, for the forfeits are all *golden*, regardless of the fitness of the adjective; we find it used with hat, dress, and horse. In the lover's verse in 9 *goldner Berg* is wholly unfit; in fact, the adjective merely enhances the value of the forfeit.

In the sister's stanza we find *Plate* in 1, *grüner Kranz* in 3, *schöne Schuhe* in 4, *schwarzes Kleid* in 6, *goldnes Kleid* in 10, *roter Rock* in 12, and *Edelstein* in 13. These show a very great variance, which may in part be due to the fact that the word *Plate* in our oldest song is a North German word, for *Schürze* or *Vortuch*. However, there is one striking similarity in these forfeits; namely, that it is always something to wear, and very often suggests something valuable or an object dear to the girl's heart. In the absence of the sister's stanza four times and the existence of so great a variety of forfeits, the assignment of any one object based on the evidence alone becomes extremely difficult. But since all the other indications point back to the *Kunstlied*, it would be natural here to select *weisser Plate*, from which all the other forfeits could very easily have arisen.

Many of the changes in the matter of forfeits, no doubt, crept in from parallel instances in other similar songs of the time. For example, in the Silesian "Es war einmal ein Schäfersmann,"<sup>1</sup> a very similar forfeit episode arises, where the maiden is called upon to save her sweetheart by giving her *grünes Kränzlein*, which is very comparable to our 3 where the sister is asked to give her *grüner Kranz*. These two songs come from exactly the same region.

We shall point out and discuss below the peculiarities and characteristics of the individual songs, excepting 1. which we have already treated.

Number 2 lacks the brother's stanza and the sister's stanza. It is followed by a trio, in which respect it is unique in our collection. This song has no *locus* given, excepting that it is in a fisher village, two miles from the ocean, from which information we know that it is at home in Northern Germany. It is in stanza structure mainly like 1; it has the same three-short-line idea, but the last two lines are the same, or, rather, a repetition of the original middle line. This may

<sup>1</sup> Hoffmann, No. 9, p. 19 (stanza 21); Reifferscheid (1879), p. 14, No. 7.

be explained thus: The singer introduced the spurious beginning, which we have shown belongs at the end. He knew that there were three short lines in the song, and since the introductory *sinken—ertrinken* rhymed line had already replaced the short line of the same meaning—"Fahr, Schiffer, fahr!"—he had at his command no other line but the "Ach Vater mein," which he then used twice. In the father's stanza *goldner Stier* becomes *roter Stier*.

Number 3 has *schönes Schiff*, which appears also in 4, 6; *ödes Schiff*, its opposite, appears in 8, 11, 12. The *schönes* is comparable to the flattery in *guter Mann*, while *ödes* is, no doubt, the appropriate word to describe the ship as the captured maiden beheld it. This song belongs to the group 4, 6, 12.

Number 4 is very like 3, excepting in the forfeits asked, and may well have come from 3, for the lines in 4,

Eh' ich meinen roten Rock entbehr,  
So wollt ich doch nun nimmermehr,

which rhyme, further violate the regular stanza structure in that the father does not reply in the same form as his daughter speaks, which he does in 3. Thus 4 loses the well-established line "Und rett mein junges Leben." At the end of the sweetheart's stanza there is an example of *Zersungenheit*, in the lines

Ach Schiffmann, lass's Schiffchen sinken,  
Der goldne Ring der soll ertrinken,

which is entirely beside the point.

Number 5 is almost identical with 7, 11 as to the forfeits asked, and is identical as to the omission of stanzas. Number 5 contains the Low German addition, in which respect it is similar to 9; 7, 11 are High German songs.

Number 6 repeats its opening lines, a mixture of High and Low German, after every stanza. The adjective *schwarz* is used to describe the forfeits of the father, mother, and sister. The *entbehr—nimmermehr* rhyme of 4 here degenerates into

Meinen schwarzen Rock kann ich nicht entbehren,  
Und du kannst nicht mein eigen werden,

which indicates that 6 came from 4. *Zersungenheit* is also apparent in the sweetheart's last line, "Komm Schätzchen."

Number 7 resembles 1, 2 as to stanza structure. The unique introduction,

Lass du das Fähnlein rumme drehn,  
Lass du das Schifflin untergehn,

no doubt is a parallel rhyme from some similar song, for it appears nowhere else in our songs, and besides these lines, which might seem to take the place of the *sinken*—*ertrinken* rhyme, the singer adds the High German,

Lass du das schwarzbraune Mädelein  
zu Grunde,

at the end of the verse. From this observation it would seem that the *drehn* attracted *untergehn* to itself and thus split the usual rhyme, the last line of which in this instance was left incomplete.

Number 8 has another typical example of *Zersungenheit*:

Das Schifflin lass nur fahren ab,  
Die schönste Adelheid soll heute Hochzeit machen!

Further signs of irregularity exist in the matter of forfeits. The father is asked for *Haus und Hof*, and the other forfeits, *Ring*, *Hut*, and *Ross*, are all described as being golden.

Number 9 is like 5 both in structure and in the Low German addition after each stanza.

Number 10 is a very wordy version, full of expansions and repetitions. It has elements in common with its neighbors 8 (Palatinate) and 11, but is quite unlike the Westphalian 5, 9 or the Württemberg neighbor 13.

Number 11 resembles 5, 7 in the omission of the same stanzas; practically the same forfeits are demanded in all three. However, the structure of the first stanzas is quite different; in this respect 11 resembles closely 4 and is almost a verbatim copy of 12 (Silesia). We might conclude from this information that 11 belongs in the region, possibly between 4, 12 and 5, 7, or that it is a worked-over song that drew materials from these two regions.

Number 12 is another exemplification of *Zersungenheit*:

Sink immer Schifflin, sinke!  
Diese liebe Badersmagd soll nicht ertrinken!

Number 13 is the most conspicuous example of having been worked over. Its content is very strikingly like 1, although it is about

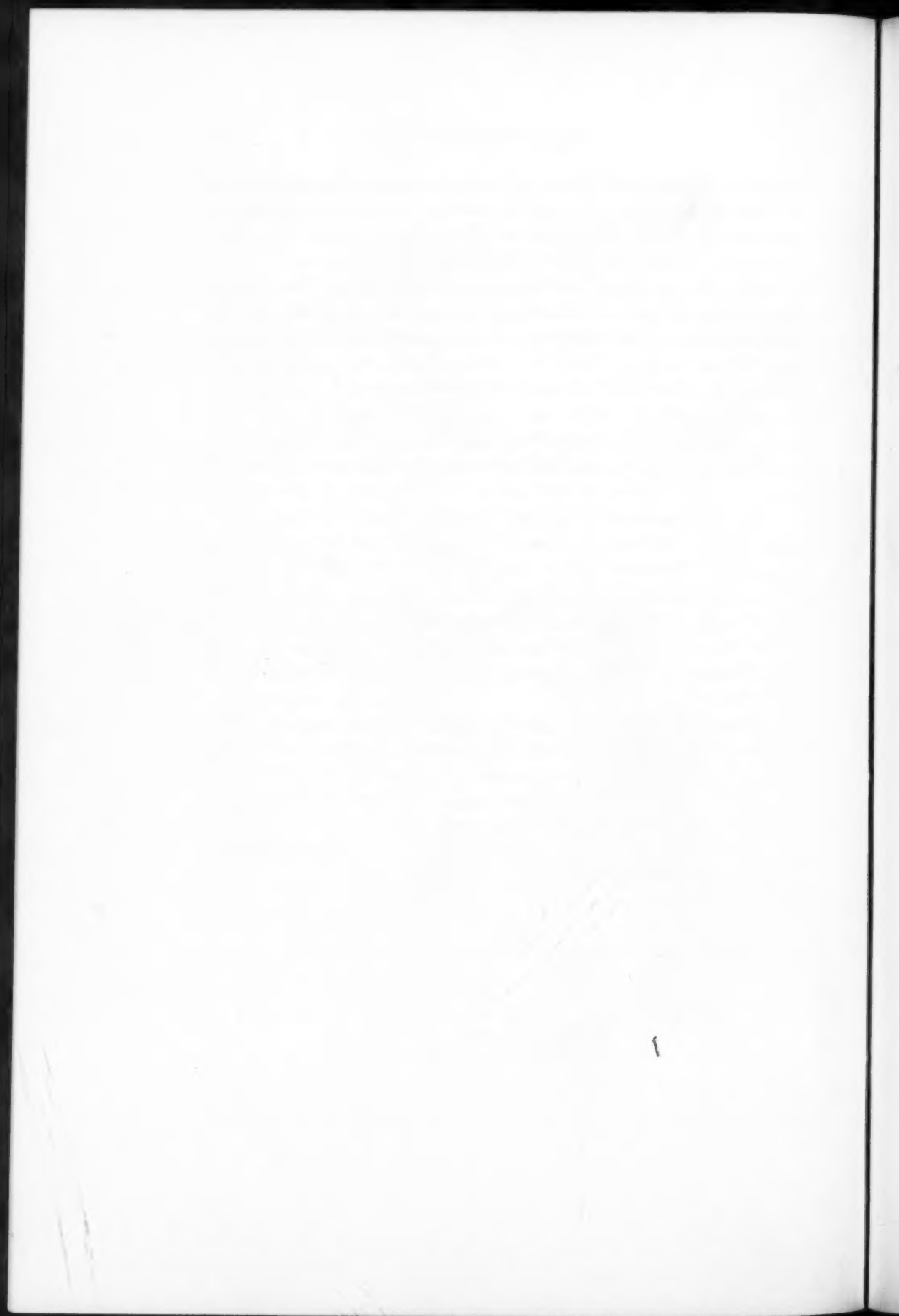
as far from 1 as it could be and still be in Germany. The song rhymes throughout, according to a definite scheme. It employs words freely that are obviously additions: such as *Treuer bruder*, *Herz Vater*, *Herzmutter*, *Einzigliebster*, and *Sklavenketten*. Such a line as "Wer tut auf Edelstein Verzicht?" does not sound at all popular. The rhymes and changes seem to be intentional, and one has the feeling that the song has been worked over by one who cared more for the rhyme than for the content. Since the author, Haug, was a regular contributor to *Idunna und Hermode*, the magazine which contains the first printing of our oldest text, it is not at all unlikely that Haug learned of the song through this magazine in 1814, when Gräter published in it "Die Losgekaufte," from Abrahamson's collection of songs.

The various names of the girl: Magdalen, Bauerstochter, Swartbrun Mäken, Adelheid, Anna, and Badersmagd; and the names of the song itself: "Loskauf," "Die Losgekaufte," "Des liebsten Liebe," "Die grösste Liebe," "Rettung," "O Schipmann," "Halt, Schiffer Halt," and "Liebesprobe" present the rather bootless problem of "What's in a name?" The above-named varieties of titles and names clearly demonstrate that names are but the whims or fancies of the individual singer or collector.

This study reveals the ballad's beginnings in a song of artistic origin and the general nature of the process of communal re-creation. From an almost perfect song we have observed the mutations, contaminations, accretions, omissions, expansions, and the influence of parallel songs, developing variety without end.

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## LEXICOGRAPHICAL INDEXING OF FOLK MELODIES

THE chief obstacle which has up to the present confronted the investigator in the field of folk melodies has been the inaccessibility of the melodic material which forms the basis of research. For the purpose of a comparative analysis of melodies the investigator has at his disposal only the existing collections of folk songs, in which the sources are necessarily limited. Moreover, in all these collections the literary and ethnographical considerations far outweigh the melodic. In order to make possible an exhaustive study of any melody the investigator should have at his disposal in an easily accessible form the entire complex of that melody, including every known variant and derived melodic form, regardless of text, age, or territory of dissemination. These melodic variants should be so arranged as to permit a comparative study that will make clear the relation of each melodic variant to every other. The problem, then, which confronts the investigator is to discover a lexicographical system capable of indexing an unlimited number of melodies in a manner that these melodies may be readily compared and that they may nevertheless be distinguishable from each other.

It is perhaps unimportant but nevertheless interesting to note that the first known effort to create a catalogue of melodies was made in the year 1646 and that this index employs a system that is in many respects ideal. This catalogue is the work of the Benedictine monk Johannes Werlin<sup>1</sup> and includes an index of several hundred melodies arranged on the basis of the first three-tone intervals according to the principle of the solmization syllables. The index accordingly begins with the tones *ut ut ut*, *ut ut re*, *ut ut mi* . . . then *ut re ut*, *ut re re*, etc. We may regard the existence of this index as historical evidence that the problem of thematic cataloguing of melodies is by no means a new one and that it has been solved in practice at least on a small scale long before our time.

The question was publicly raised for the first time about the beginning of this century by D. F. Scheurleer<sup>2</sup> in a short article under the

<sup>1</sup> *Elenchus sive Series Rhythmo-metrorum non solum dimensionum verum etiam modulationum* (München Staatsbibliothek, cgm 3641).

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift der internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, I (1902), 219. Not at M:O.  
[MODERN PHILOLOGY, November, 1929] 147 (1899-1900)

title: "Welches ist die beste Methode, um Volks- und volksmässige Lieder nach ihrer melodischen (nicht textlichen) Beschaffenheit lexikalisch zu ordnen?" Two replies to this query appeared soon thereafter, which deserve careful consideration here on account of the basic differences in their points of departure as well as in the methods which they pursue. The authors of these articles are Oswald Koller<sup>1</sup> and Ilmari Krohn,<sup>2</sup> both scholars and musicians well qualified to undertake this difficult task.

Koller's solution is limited from the start by the fact that he lacks a clear understanding of the purpose of a lexicographical index of folk melodies. He apparently intends to create a system by which a limited number of melodies already recorded in existing collections may be arranged in as convenient a manner as possible. For this reason he works exclusively with melodies of the older periods and takes his material from Böhme's *Alte deutsches Liederbuch*.

Koller recognizes three possible methods of arrangement in a thematic catalogue: the first according to the harmonic principle, the second according to rhythm, the third according to the melodic nature of the song. Arrangement according to the harmonic principle is suitable for almost all art-music and for many, especially modern, folk songs. Koller, however, properly recognizes the weakness of this principle of arrangement when applied to folk melodies of the older periods because they are not reducible to a single unified harmonic form but modulate from one to another. So, for example, Böhme's No. 23 has a mixolydian beginning with ionian conclusion; No. 36 has an ionian beginning with aeolian conclusion, etc. Koller therefore rejects this system as not suited to the folk melody.

Lexicographical arrangement according to rhythmic principles is also rejected as unsuited to the peculiar character of folk song, although it has been successfully used in the cataloguing of hymn tunes.<sup>3</sup> The rhythm especially of the folk song is subject to the greatest variability due to the inclusion or exclusion of words in variant texts, the adaptation of three-fourth or six-eighth tempos for marching purposes, and many other causes.

Arrangement according to the melodic nature of the song thus remains as the only usable one. In his first attempt Koller transcribes

<sup>1</sup> "Die beste Methode um Volkslieder nach ihrer melodischen Beschaffenheit lexikalisch zu ordnen," *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, IV (1902-3), 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Welches ist die beste Methode um Volkslieder nach ihrer melodischen Beschaffenheit lexikalisch zu ordnen?" *ibid.*, pp. 643 ff.

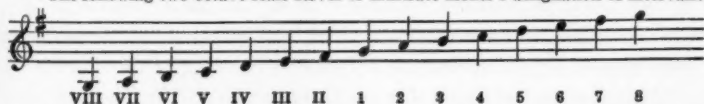
→ F. Zahn, *Die Melodien des evangelischen Kirchenliedes* (Gütersloh, 1889-93).

the melody in letters and arranges his index according to pitch. Accidental sharps and flats are not taken into consideration, and repetitions of the same note are not counted; if, for example, a melody begins with a double or triple repetition of the same tone this is recorded as one note. In most cases the recording of five or six notes suffices to distinguish the melody. The serious weakness of this method lies in its inability to bring transposed forms of the same melody or its variants into proper relation with each other. It is evident that a melody in the key of G major and the same melody transposed to the key of B flat major would appear entirely different when transliterated.

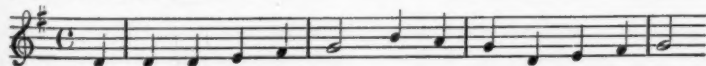
In the final revision of his system Koller overcomes this weakness by first transposing all melodies to the key of G major or G minor, as the case may be. Thus G of the middle scale becomes the keynote of all melodies. From this keynote Koller designates intervals upward by Arabic numerals, downward by Roman numerals.<sup>1</sup> Since, according to his theory, however, only the accented tones of a melody are constant while unaccented tones are more or less variable, he records in his index only the intervals of the accented tones. For this purpose he scans the text of the song and records only the intervals of the notes falling on the accented syllables. Unaccented syllables and melodic embellishments are not taken into consideration. In connection with this index of intervals Koller records the first line of the text, the harmonic form of the melody, the key in which the tune is originally found, and the number in Böhme's collection. A typical entry in Koller's index is as follows:

IV III 1 3, 1 III 1: *Ich stund auf einem Berge;*  
ionisch mit äolischem Schluss;  
C; 36.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following two-octave scale serves to illustrate Koller's designation of intervals:



<sup>2</sup> Koller arrives at this formula in the following manner: He scans the two opening lines of the first stanza and transcribes the notes falling on the accented syllables in numerals according to the key given in the preceding footnote. The notes falling on unaccented syllables are not recorded.



Ich stund' auf ei - nem Ber - ge, ich sah' in tief - fe Tal'

The letter C at the conclusion of the entry signifies that the song is found in the key of C, and the number 36 is the number of the song in Böhme's collection.

The advantages and disadvantages of Koller's lexicographical method are quite obvious. It affords sufficient differentiation with a small number of symbols, making compilation easy. Through transposition into a common key and the method of arrangement, related melodies will be found near each other in the index, making a survey of melodies easy. On the other hand, the lack of consideration shown the notes falling on unaccented syllables is to be regarded as a weakness. Moreover, as stated above, the folk song is capable in many cases of varied scansion, and it is evident that by a slight variation in the interpretation of the meter the recorded melodic formula would be completely changed.

While Koller's thematic index permits an almost completely objective treatment of the melodic material, Ilmari Krohn's system demands from the outset a critical survey of the inner structure of the songs. He does not work toward the scientific end of a thematic catalogue but makes it his point of departure. For this reason he demands a melodic concordance in which the lexicographer himself works out the inner relationship of melodies. In other words, the compiler of the index according to Krohn's method is not merely a clerk who reduces melodies to a simple formula and records them but he is himself the investigator and his work is that of critical research, by which the structure of the melody is resolved into its components.

In preparation for recording by this method Krohn first reduces the melody by omitting all tones of secondary accent or by merely indicating them by means of small notes. The resulting cross-section of the melody he calls *Stichmotiv*. Out of this *Stichmotiv* he then selects the three chief tones: (1) the opening tone of the actual melody, which is not necessarily identical with the opening note of the song; (2) the melodic climax; (3) the final tone of the melody, which again is not necessarily identical with the last note of the song. These three chief tones he then arranges in his index according to pitch.

In the writer's opinion this method has two entirely distinct basic weaknesses. In the first place, the selection of the three chief tones is a process of entirely subjective nature. Admitting that in an art composition with its unified melodic structure this selection can be made on a musically sound and objective basis, this certainly is not true in the case of the folk song with its loose and often fortuitous construction. The tone which, in the estimation of one person, repre-

sents the melodic climax may be regarded by another as of quite secondary nature, and both opinions may be equally justified. In the second place, the three recorded notes of the index fail to offer to the user of the catalogue a clear melodic picture. They give no indication whether the melodic climax lies in the first or the second half of the song. Two melodies whose chief tones in the index are identical may, nevertheless, be quite dissimilar.

Krohn himself recognizes these weaknesses of his method although he tries to minimize them. For this reason he makes a second suggestion which also takes its departure from the *Stichmotiv*. He first divides the songs into groups according to the number of lines they contain: four-line songs, songs with more than four lines, and songs with less than four lines. He divides these groups on the basis of the song-ending—tonic, dominant, and subdominant. Within these divisions he makes subdivisions of melodies with authentic, plagal, and subdominant cadence. In order to fit these characteristics into his index he uses symbols in place of the words "tonic," "dominant," "tonic third," "tonic fifth," etc., and succeeds in making his method so unwieldy and complicated that it can never be put to practical use.

Another noteworthy suggestion for lexicographical arrangement of folk melodies was made by Gottlieb Brandsch.<sup>1</sup> He follows in general the principles laid down by Koller but departs from the latter's system by printing the actual notes of the opening measures instead of numerals to represent the notes. For the user of the catalogue this method is perhaps the most satisfactory. Instead of a meaningless group of letters or numerals he sees the actual opening measures of the melody. From the standpoint of the maker of the catalogue, however, this method may prove too expensive, since a staff, though it contain only three measures, occupies far more space than its equivalent in numerals. If the index is planned as a card catalogue, however, rather than as a collection of volumes, this method might prove usable.

In the year 1911 the question was reopened in a paper which Armas Launis read before the Fourth Congress of the International Music Society in London.<sup>2</sup> In this paper he emphasizes the need of a unified technique of research in the field of folk melodies. In the first

✓ <sup>1</sup> "Noch ein Vorschlag zur lexikalischen Anordnung von Volksmelodien," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XXIV (1914), 196 ff.

✓ <sup>2</sup> "Ueber die Notwendigkeit einer einheitlichen Untersuchungsmethode der Volksmelodien," *Report of the Fourth Congress of the I.M.S.*, 1911, pp. 185 ff.

place, he demands unified terminology of the basic musical conceptions; some investigators employ the classical and others the medieval names of the harmonic types. In the second place, he points out the urgent need of a thematic index of all existing folk melodies which must be flexible enough to accommodate an unlimited number of melodies still to be recorded. While he makes no constructive suggestions in his article, he intimates that he has worked out a system that satisfies his own requirements.

A rather recently suggested method of cataloguing by Wilhelm Heinitz<sup>1</sup> is based upon the systems of Koller and Brandsch and does not differ sufficiently from the latter to merit separate discussion. Mention is also made here of a system evolved by an American scholar, Leo R. Lewis,<sup>2</sup> the particulars of which have not been made public. The writer understands, however, that more than a hundred thousand melodies have been recorded in this index.

The only solution of the lexicographical problem which appears practicable and which has already been employed on a broad basis is that of Hans Mersmann.<sup>3</sup> The *Musikarchiv der deutschen Volkslieder* (*Archiv der preussischen Volksliederkommission und des Verbandes deutscher Vereine für Volkskunde*), after thoroughly testing all suggested methods, is now engaged upon the task of cataloguing all recorded folk songs by Mersmann's system. The card index of the *Musikarchiv* consists of five sections: a catalogue of melodies, of texts, of catchwords, of authors, and of sources. With the exception of the first, these are all arranged alphabetically.

Before a melody is recorded it is transposed to the key of G. The intervals are designated exactly as in Koller's method by Arabic numerals upward and Roman numerals downward from middle G. Only the first four tones are recorded in the index, without regard to the meter and with inclusion of anachrusis. In this respect Mersmann's method differs sharply from Koller's, which, as noted above, disregards all unaccented tones, including anachrusis, and records only ac-

✓ <sup>1</sup> "Eine lexikalische Ordnung für die vergleichende Betrachtung von Melodien," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, III (1921), 274 ff.

✓ <sup>2</sup> "The Possibility of Thematic Indexing," *Proceedings of the Music Teachers' National Association* (7th ser., 1912), pp. 180 ff.

✓ <sup>3</sup> "Grundlagen einer musikalischen Volksliedforschung," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, IV (1922), 141 ff.; 289 ff.; V (1923), 81 ff.

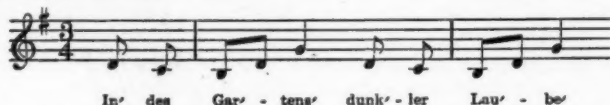


cented notes.<sup>1</sup> The treatment of melodies in preparation for the catalogue is quite objective. The melodic form of the source is left as nearly untouched as possible, and changes are permitted only when the original record contains obvious mistakes.

Accidental sharps and flats are disregarded in cataloguing; attention is called to them, however, in a notation on the card. Refrains, independently complete portions of melodies, and stanzas possessing independent melodies are not only recorded with the song to which they belong but once more separately. In this manner a thoroughly complete catalogue is obtained and one which so far has satisfactorily met all requirements of the *Volksliedarchiv*. Since the remaining sections of the card index bear no direct relation to the melody and are moreover the conventional ones which have been used in other folk-song collections, they will not be discussed here.

The question now arises whether, in view of Koller's and Mersmann's methods, the problem of thematic indexing of folk melodies is to be considered as solved. Opinions might well differ. It appears, indeed, that the *Musikarchiv der deutschen Volkslieder* is finding Mersmann's method quite satisfactory and that this method is capable of receiving an unlimited number of German and related melodies. In view of the future of research in the folk-song field, however, it seems desirable to discover a method by which exotic melodies, lying outside our tonal system, may be indexed. The problems of folk-song research are taking on a more universal aspect; they are extending more and more beyond our national, ethnic, and racial boundaries to folk groups whose songs cannot be fitted into our tonal system. Oskar Fleischer, in his articles on the comparative study of melodies,<sup>2</sup> finds very interesting parallels between European and exotic folk

<sup>1</sup> The following example will serve to illustrate clearly the difference between Koller's and Mersmann's methods:



Koller scans the text, as indicated by the accent marks, and records only the notes falling upon accented syllables: IV VI 1 IV VI 1. Mersmann, however, records the first four notes: IV V VI IV.

<sup>2</sup> "Ein Kapitel vergleichender Liedforschung," *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, I (1899), 1-54; "Zur vergleichenden Liedforschung," *ibid.*, III (1902), 185 ff.

songs and believes that in the unraveling of these relations may lie the solutions of many ethnic problems.

It is evident that a lexicographical method which is based upon our modern Western European tonal system is incapable of recording melodies that operate with intervals other than our own. Even in the case of tonal systems that are comparatively closely related to our own the customary methods of recording fail. In his valuable book on the folk music of Hungary, Bela Bartok<sup>1</sup> finds it necessary to discover not only an individual lexicographical method but even an original method of recording melodies. Armas Launis<sup>2</sup> encounters the same difficulty in his investigation of the Finno-Esthonian rune melodies. Alfred Daniell,<sup>3</sup> who has done some interesting work on Welsh folk music, finds there intervals which cannot be recorded in the customary manner. Even in the English folk song Frederick Keel<sup>4</sup> discovers difficulties of recording and has reasons for the statement: "The real folksinger has no feeling for harmony, his tunes are in no particular key."

In view of these conditions, not only our present lexicographical systems but even the customary methods of recording songs seem to become utterly valueless. The only reliable method of recording that we have at our disposal is the graphophone, and it appears to the writer that, until a method is discovered by which exotic melodies with unconventional intervals may be written down, the only satisfactory catalogue of folk melodies will consist of a collection of graphophone records.

GUSTAVE O. ARLT

✓ CHICAGO

✓ <sup>1</sup> *Das ungarische Volkslied* (Berlin, 1925).

✓ <sup>2</sup> "Ueber Art, Entstehung und Verbreitung der estnisch-finnischen Runenmelodien," *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, Vol. XXV (Helsingfors, 1910).

✓ <sup>3</sup> "Vocal Traditions in Wales," *Cymmrodorion Society Publications* (1909-10).

✓ <sup>4</sup> "Some Characteristics of British Folksong," *Report of the Fourth Congress of the I. M. S.* (1911), pp. 179 ff.

## OLD FRENCH *DENE*

**I**N *Language*, II (1926), 191, there appears a brief article entitled "Old French *de ne*," by U. T. Holmes. Its purpose is to determine the etymology of *dene* and to change the reading *de ne* to *dene* in the *Conquête de Constantinople* of Robert de Clari,<sup>1</sup> where the particle recurs five times (CI, 12, 15, 16; CVI, 27, 29) and is defined "ne ... donc pas?" The other examples of this interrogative particle listed in the article are drawn from the *Poème moral*,<sup>2</sup> 169a, 170d, 318a, 331a, 331b, 332a, 362a. Professor Holmes is justified in noting the semantic connection between *dene* and *enne*, *ene*, *en*, for which examples are cited in *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*, in *Aucassin et Nicolette*,<sup>3</sup> and in the *Escoufle*.<sup>4</sup> In the latter poem there also occurs:

*Donne doit ma bele fille estre  
Proçainement sa feme espouse?* [vss. 2710-11]

*Donne* appears in the manuscript as *de ne*. In the glossary we read that it is "pour dont ne; inter. négative, correspondant pour le sens au latin NONNE," and we are referred to Godefroy, who records twenty-seven examples under *dunne*, *dumne*, "particule interrogative, traduisant le latin NUMQUID, NUMQUID NON, NONNE, *est-ce que ... ?*, *est-ce que ... ne ... pas?*" Professor Holmes is stretching a point when, after noting that etymologists have derived *enne* from ET NON, he traces *dene* back to the same etymon: "et non > enne > \*(e)dne > dene." We are to understand that in Old French *dene* developed from *enne* by passing through a hypothetical stage *\*edne* or *\*dne*. The author postulates as follows:

The *nn* very frequently indeed simplified to *n*, but if the necessary length were retained, particularly in the initial position of a word invariably beginning a question, there was sufficient force to dissimilate the first element to *d*. The initial mute *e* was in a precarious position and easily fell. For this dissimilation it is interesting to compare Norman *redne*, *bodne*, etc., beside *renne*,

<sup>1</sup> Ed. P. Lauer in the *Classiques frç. du Moyen-Âge*, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> Published in part by W. Cloetta, in *Romanische Forschungen*, Vol. III (1887), and completed by P. Menge, *Ztschr. für rom. Phil.*, Vol. XXXIX (1919).

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Langlois and Roques, *Classiques frç. du Moyen-Âge*, 1924 and 1925.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. P. Meyer, *Soc. des anc. Textes frç.*, 1894.

*bonne*, etc. . . . In *dn* as an initial combination there was necessarily a spreading of the *n*, a *Sonorlaut*, so as to form *den*. [As examples of svarabhakti in the *Poème moral*, there are *combateroit*, *averont*, *ordene*, *op. cit.*, 1. 86. This is a phenomenon common in the northern dialects]. As an alternative to this reasoning it would be possible to consider *dene* a direct metaphasis of *\*edne*. If this etymology is correct we should require *dene* and not *de ne* as written by Lauer. *Enne* and *dene* would then be one and the same.

It is unlikely that *enne* could have received sufficient force to be dissimilated into *\*edne* while the initial *e* of *\*edne* was in a precarious position, and, by apheresis, became *\*dne*. We believe that there is no need to assume the existence of either *\*edne* or *\*dne*. The *nn* was reduced to *n* even in the initial position of a word beginning a question, and *dene* is read even when it does not begin a question, e.g., *Aucassin et Nicolette*, X, 70; XXXII, 12, and *Poème moral*, line 331b. The words offered in the note are not authentic cases of svarabhakti. In the *Poème moral* we find "Et a teil barbarin qui soi *combateroit*" [33d]. The form *combateroit* may be poetic license for *combatroit* in order to get in the necessary twelve syllables. The variant *averont* has already been rejected by Cloetta who reads *avront* (l. 150a). Sometimes a diacritical *e* was inserted in the future and conditional tenses to distinguish the *v* from a *u*. For the other word *ordene* (in the title of 2.XVIII), Cloetta remarks (p. 86) that he does not mean to have the word read as three syllables. In words like *ordene*, there never was but one atonic syllable after the accent.<sup>1</sup>

ET NON can serve only as the etymon of *enne*, but there is no necessity for inserting an epenthetic vowel in a hypothetical form in order to account for *dene*. The thesis of Schulze<sup>2</sup> that *donc ne* is the point of departure for *denne* has been rejected by Meyer-Lübke,<sup>3</sup> but the etymon NONNE which the latter proposes<sup>4</sup> presents the phonetic difficulty of the initial consonant. Both *donc ne* and NONNE fail to explain such orthography as *dum ne*, *dumne* used in the Oxford and Cambridge

<sup>1</sup> A. Tobler, *Vom französischen Versbau* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 38; Schwan-Behrens, *Gram. d. Altfrs.*, § 76n., 188n. Mr. Holmes writes in a personal communication: "(1) If the *d* and *n* of *\*ordne* remain, the *n* must carry some vowel and hence would be a legitimate case of svarabhakti. (2) Such forms as *combateroit* were so frequent in northern France that they can not be explained away consistently by exigencies of rhyme and spelling. (3) *Donne* is either *dont ne* or a confusion of *dene* without *dont*."

<sup>2</sup> *Der altfrs. direkte Frageatz* (Leipzig, 1888), pp. 65-74.

<sup>3</sup> *Rom. Etym. Wtb.*, § 5955, and see also § 2795.

<sup>4</sup> Also offered by W. Foerster, *Kristian von Troyes Wtb.*, p. 117.

*Psalters*.<sup>1</sup> Now, to us, the initial letter is rather a vestige of *DUM*, the same *DUM* which lies at the base of *donc*.<sup>2</sup> We posit, therefore, the following phonetic series: "dum non > dum nen > dumne, dunne > donne, done > denne, dene." The last link in this phonetic chain shows the analogical influence due to the semantic identity with *enne*, *ene*.<sup>3</sup>

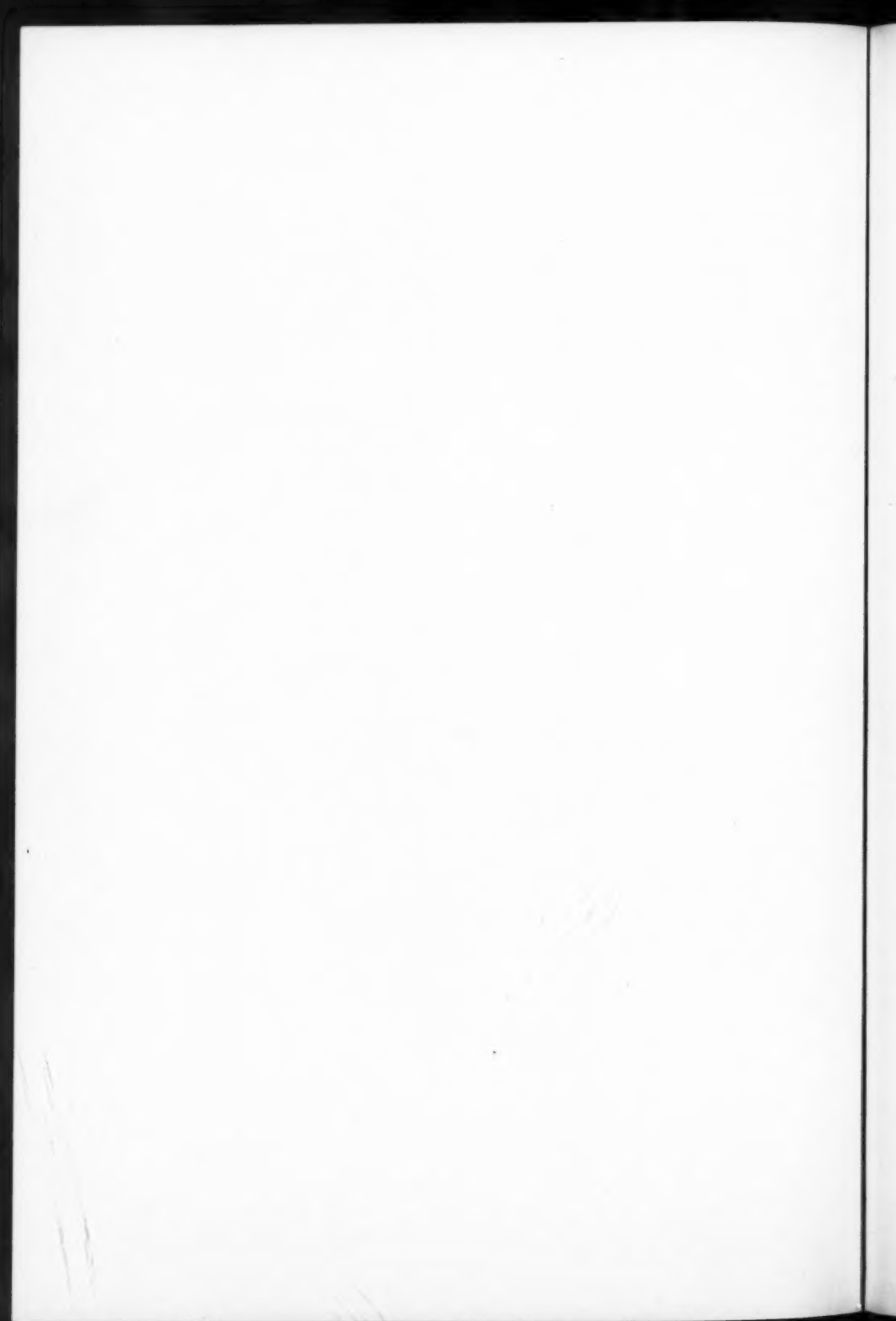
RAPHAEL LEVY

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<sup>1</sup> Cited both by Godefroy and Schulze.

<sup>2</sup> J. Pirson, *Bibl. de la Faculté de philos. et lettres de l'Univ. de Liège*, XI (1901), 252. On the other hand, H. Suchier, *Ztschr. für rom. Phil.*, III (1879), 151, looks upon *dum* as the Normand form of *dunc* and *dunt*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Foerster, *Ztschr. für rom. Phil.*, XIII (1890), 542.



## NOUS DEUX LUI

CETTE tournure familière pour *Nous deux, moi et lui* est condamnée comme incorrecte par Faguet. Claudel la défend comme "un de ces gallicismes naïfs qui sont l'elixir le plus savoureux de notre terroir."<sup>1</sup>

Ici le poète a raison contre le critique. L'expression en question est nerveuse et claire. De plus, nous l'allons voir, elle a de beaux titres d'ancienneté et de noblesse. En effet la langue des *Vedas* offre le parallèle de cette ellipse de *moi* qui constitue la particularité syntactique de notre tournure: *A yad ruhava Varunaç câ navam*, à la lettre *Quand nous deux montons et Varuna dans le navire*, ou, plus clairement «Quand nous deux [moi] et Varuna ...» (*Rig Veda*, VII, 88, l. 3).

D'autre part, le vieil irlandais foisonne en exemples de cette façon de parler. Zimmer, qui ne paraît pas avoir connu l'idiotisme français, cite un grand nombre de cas du type suivant: *Ragmaine ocus Fergus for Bernas n-Ulda*; c'est à dire *Nous irons et Fergus sur Bernas Ulda* pour "Nous irons moi et Fergus."<sup>2</sup> Mais c'est le vieux scandinave qui offre le parallèle le plus exact de la tournure française: *Satûd it völundr*, littéralement *Etiez-vous assis vous deux Völundr?* pour "Etiez-vous assis toi et Völundr?"<sup>3</sup> Nous avons ici comme dans la tournure française la suppression de la conjonction *et* qui, par contre, est maintenue dans le védique et le vieil irlandais. Il va sans dire que *Nous deux et lui* signifierait trois personnes et non plus deux. L'absence du duel verbal interdit ainsi la conjonction *et*. A ce propos on peut remarquer qu'en fait le populaire connaît en français une sorte de semi duel avec l'emploi de *on* pour *nous*. En effet il tendra à dire non pas *Nous deux lui nous ferons cela*, mais bien *Nous deux lui on fera cela*. Le populaire reste fidèle au sens primitif de *on* (homo) quand il veut marquer que plusieurs agissent comme un seul homme. "On les aura!" Et jamais, jamais "*Nous les aurons!*"

<sup>1</sup> "Réflexions et propositions sur le vers français," *Nouvelle Revue française*, XXV, 569.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitsch. für vgl. Sprachf.*, II, 395.

<sup>3</sup> Stokes, *Beitr. sur vgl. Sprachf.*, II, 395.



De même ordre syntactique que *Nous deux lui* est la tournure populaire *Nous deux avec lui*. "*On va y aller nous deux avec ma femme*," pour "*Nous irons ma femme et moi*." Or ici c'est le vieil irlandais qui offre l'analogie parfaite: *Biam sær cechinbaid lamnoeb de Laignio*—"Erimus salvi semper [ego] cum sancta mea de Lageniensibus" (Ultan, hymne 8).<sup>1</sup>

En somme, si le populaire se trompe quand il dit *Nous deux lui* il se trompe en fort bonne et antique compagnie: Les Vedas, les vieux norse et les vieux irlandais (dont une sainte).

LOUIS CONS

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<sup>1</sup> Ebel, *ibid.*, IV, 357.

## PLATONISM IN PETRARCH'S *CANZONIERE*

THERE is a tendency on the part of students of the Renaissance love-lyric to ascribe to Petrarch as its Italian founder what is too loosely called "Platonism." It is true that his prestige carried into the stream of poetic thought the concept of a love unrequited by such favors as had seemed appropriate to the classical amorists—notably to Ovid; it is essential to Laura's represented character that her physical charms are accompanied by inaccessibility to physical passion whether arising in herself or in her lover. It is equally true that into the current of Petrarchism which so strongly affected poetry for two hundred years and more there flowed, well after Petrarch's day, a stream of Platonistic ideas and modes of expression whose immediate source lies largely in the work of Ficino; and this in its most dilute form is almost indistinguishable from Petrarchism. It is even certain that many poets of the sixteenth century made no distinction—possibly knew none—between the jargon of love-poetry which Petrarch made so popular and the terminology which the *Convito* brought in from the myths of the *Symposium* and the *Phaedrus*. Du Bellay, for example, in his fulmination against the Italian school of poetry which he himself had done so much to acclimate in France,<sup>1</sup> condemned without discrimination a score of ideas and rhetorical terms which are derived, some from Petrarch and some from Plato or the Platonists.

The purpose of this study is to determine if possible the extent to which Petrarch in the *Canzoniere*<sup>2</sup> draws upon Plato for ideas or for modes of expression. The distinction between these two orders of influence is important in the study of Renaissance Platonism, for it frequently occurs that a poet uses a Platonistic term for its mere picturesqueness, with little or no idea of the original meaning, and certainly with no intention of conveying a Platonistic thought. It is equally true, of course, that an idea derived from the dialogues may appear in purely modern language; but in practice, the humanist-

<sup>1</sup> "Contre les Petrarquistes," *Œuvres françaises de Joachim du Bellay* (ed. Marty-Laveaux; Paris: Lemerre, 1866), II, 337.

<sup>2</sup> References are to the Carducci-Ferrari edition (Florence: Sansoni, 1915).

poet is far more likely to express Platonistic ideas in the terms which their originator himself used.

It seems appropriate to gather the material from the *Canzoniere* into three groups: items concerned with the source and nature of the world, items concerned with the theory of reality (the Ideas), and items concerned with the soul—particularly, as it turns out, the soul in its connection with love.

#### I. THE SOURCE AND NATURE OF THE WORLD

The theory of the world which represents it as composed of a number of concentric spheres or orbits with or in which the heavenly bodies move around the sun (or around the earth)<sup>1</sup> is not Plato's originally, but appears so prominently in his most important dialogues<sup>2</sup> that its influence comes to be equal to that of the purely Platonic doctrines. The only poem which presents a clear Platonistic suggestion is Sonnet CLXVII, on Petrarch's listening to his mistress' voice; the last three verses run

Così mi vivo, e così avolge e spiega  
Lo stame de la vita che m'è data,  
Questa sola fra noi del ciel sirena.

In Plato's myth of Er<sup>3</sup> the great seven-whorled spindle of Necessity is described as carrying on each of its whorls a siren who continually sings the same note (the concept is akin to that of the "music of the spheres"); the whorls themselves are turned by the Fates, who spin out and allot their respective destinies to the souls standing before them. Petrarch appears to echo the passage, and in doing so to combine the recollection of the singing sirens with that of the Fates at their work; and lying below the myth is the cosmological scheme which is most expressly set forth in the *Timaeus*. The incidental references to the *terza sfera* and the *terzo cerchio* in Sonnets CCLXXXVII and CCCII, respectively, belong too generally in the accepted cosmology of the Middle Ages to be attributable to Platonic authority in particular.

<sup>1</sup> In general on this theory, see Pierre Duhem, *Le Système du monde; histoire des doctrines cosmologiques de Platon à Copernic* (Paris: Hermann, 1913), I, 8. A Platonistic account, based on the *Timaeus*, is to be found in Macrobius' commentary (*Commentaria in Somnium Scipionis*), I, xvii, 5, and in its subject, Cicero's *De Republica* vi.

<sup>2</sup> *Republic* x. 616, 617; *Timaeus* 38-40; *Phaedrus* 247.

<sup>3</sup> *Rep.* x. 616-18.

## II. THE IDEAS

The Platonic doctrine of the Ideas serves as an instrument not only (as in the *Republic*)<sup>1</sup> in the comprehension of intellectually perceptible truth, but also (as in the *Symposium*)<sup>2</sup> in the formation of a concept of true beauty, the object of the only true love. In the latter of these two aspects, it appears in a text from the *Canzoniere* which actually presents the technical term—Sonnet CLIX:

In qual parte del ciel, in quale idea  
Era l'esempio onde natura tolse  
Quel bel viso leggiadro, in ch'ella volse  
Mostrar qua giù quanto là su potea?

Petrarch is asking where the celestial model may be from which Laura's person derives its beauty. It is improbable, as will be indicated later, that he was using as authority any particular text from a dialogue; but of the general Platonistic color of this passage there is no question. Petrarch's favorites, Augustine and Cicero, might either of them have suggested the term.

A passage of similar tenor and antecedents appears in Sonnet LXXVII; Petrarch is praising Simone Martini for the beauty of his portrait of Laura:

Ma certo il mio Simon fu in paradiso,  
Onde questa gentil donna si parte;  
Ivi la vide, e la ritrasse in carte,  
Per far fede qua giù del suo bel viso.

Here the Platonistic term "idea" is not used, but the concept of a divine original which Simone portrayed is none the less clearly distinguishable. However, the tone is rather religious than philosophical.

The doctrine of the Ideas appears elsewhere in the *Canzoniere* (if indeed it appears at all) in a very tenuous and uncertain form.

## III. THE SOUL

While the *Timaeus* is the fundamental text for a study of Plato's cosmology, it furnishes as well the most important account of the creation and destiny of the human soul. Here the outermost sphere of creation—the sphere of the fixed stars—is man's eternal home. Each human soul is assigned upon coming into existence to its own

<sup>1</sup> E.g. vi. 509 ff., vii. *passim*, as well as *Phaedo* 65–66, 73–76, and *Meno passim*.

<sup>2</sup> 210–12.

star, to which after its probation on earth it will return for a life of everlasting beatitude. This lofty conception, transmitted to the Middle Ages through the *Timaeus* in Chalcidius' version, through his commentary, through Cicero's paraphrase of Plato's dialogue, and through the so-called "Dream of Scipio" in Cicero's *De republica*,<sup>1</sup> with Macrobius' commentary thereon—to say nothing of scattered references in Vergil<sup>2</sup>—strongly affected both philosophical and poetic thought. Augustine<sup>3</sup> and Thomas Aquinas<sup>4</sup> make use of it, and it colors Dante's lines in the *Paradiso* and the *Convivio*.<sup>5</sup> Petrarch<sup>6</sup> uses the idea only once with any clearness in the *Canzoniere*—in Sonnet CCLXXXIX:

L'alma mia fiamma ...  
Anzi tempo per me nel suo paese  
È ritornata et a la par sua stella.

The connection of ideas in *paese* (that is, Laura's heavenly home) and *stella* indicate characteristically enough the mingling of Christian and vaguely pagan emotion with which Petrarch is usually inclined to view Laura. Other passages of more dubiously Platonistic antecedents appear in Sonnets CCLIV, CCLXXVII, and CCLXXXVIII, where no attribution can seriously be argued.

A word of warning must accompany the transition from the consideration of the treatment which Petrarch gives the human soul in its essence to the treatment he gives it in its activity of love. It has already become evident that Petrarch describes the source of the soul and its nature as vaguely divine; but just as that characterization cannot with justice be ascribed completely and offhand to a Platonistic source, thus it is dangerous to apply the term "Platonic" to the love in which that soul finds its most characteristic expression. The use of terms, arguments, or illustrations which Plato himself used is itself no more than *prima facie* evidence that the imitator has read a

<sup>1</sup> Lib. vi; cf. Macrobius, *In Somnium Scipionis*, I, ix, 10. And see Cicero *De univ.* xli; *Tim.* 11–13.

<sup>2</sup> *Georgics* iv. 219; *Aeneid* vi. 750.

<sup>3</sup> *Civitas Dei*, XIII, 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Summa contra Gentiles*, II, 57, 58; III, 73, 84.

<sup>5</sup> *Le Opere di Dante, Testo Critico della Società Dantesca* (Firenze: Bemporad, 1921): *Paradiso*, IV, 22, 49; *Convivio*, IV, xxi, 2.

<sup>6</sup> The poet had himself a copy of the *Timaeus* in Chalcidius' translation with the translator's commentary, both of which he carefully annotated. See Nohac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme* (Paris: Champion, 1907), II, 145–46.

work in which these terms appear; it is far from signifying that the spirit in which he is using them is equally to be called "Platonic."

The Platonic doctrine of love is based upon the same conception as that of the Ideas. Its text is to be found largely in the *Republic*, *Phaedrus*, *Phaedo*, and *Symposium*, and has been picked up by Cicero and Augustine.<sup>1</sup> According to it, the mind from observation of beauty in a beloved creature passes to an understanding of beauty as it exists not only in that creature but in others, even in actions and character; so that finally the philosophic lover of true beauty finds himself confronting the Idea of Beauty, which is infused into all things which are called beautiful, without itself being perceptible to sense or to the lower reasoning power. True Platonic love, then, is in essence a love attached not to the fleeting but to the perdurable qualities of a beloved person, and devoted finally to the search to comprehend the Idea of Beauty which lies beyond any person, thing, or quality. Moreover, inasmuch as the character of a love is determined by its object, and as Platonic love is directed toward an object eternal and unchanging, so the essential quality of Platonic love is a calmness and indifference to physical charm which sets it in the realm of the intellectual rather than in that of the emotional. How far Petrarch's expression of his love shows Platonism of terminology or of spirit needs now to be considered.

Although according to the strict philosophy of the matter a Platonistic lover could not find in the person of his beloved the satisfaction of his intellectual quest, yet in so far as she showed characteristics which were derived from the Idea of the Beautiful he might revere her as its partial manifestation on earth. Consequently, when there appears in Petrarch's verse an ascription of celestial origin to Laura or to the qualities which he celebrates in her, there is the possibility that he is echoing Platonistic doctrine. The group of texts indicated at the foot of this page<sup>2</sup> contain the most promising material to examine for its Platonism; but not even the most attentive interpretation appears to deduce from them more than a vaguely Christian idealization of Laura's charms.

<sup>1</sup> *Rep.* vi. 509; *Phaedrus* 246 ff.; *Phaedo* 65-66, 73-76; *Symposium* 210-12; Cicero *Acad. Post.* i. 30-32; Augustine, *op. cit.*, VII, 28. Cf. also Plato's *Meno* *passim*, and Dante, *Par.*, XIII.

<sup>2</sup> Sonnets CCLXIII, CCXLVIII, CCLXI; Canzoni LXXII *in*it., CCLXVIII 34 ff., CCLXX 99-101.

Closely linked with the Platonic doctrine of a love directed toward the Idea of Beauty is the doctrine that a love is pure in so far as it is directed toward qualities in the beloved object which are not subject to change and which exist in all beautiful things by the latter's participation in the Idea of Beauty. These qualities, then, are such as are not perceived by the senses but are apprehended by the intellectual or the moral generalizing power in man. They are, in the case of the person beloved, the qualities commonly called "virtues"—although it is to be remembered that the definition of individual virtues would be different for the ancient Greek and for modern theorists. The former would be likely to set up a fundamentally aesthetic canon of criticism, and the latter a calculus of social goods, to determine what was and what was not virtue. In any case, however, the injunction to direct one's devotion to the permanent beauties of a lady's character is consonant with Platonic theory; but it also parallels closely the Christian precept of seeking in general those things which are above, and therefore cannot be offhand called "Platonistic." Only if together with the underlying spirit, which may be either Platonistic or Christian, a passage presents in its method of expression traces of terminology, myths or style which appear in the dialogues and cannot be traced to a source in non-Platonistic Christian doctrine, may the passage be reasonably ascribed to a Platonic influence.

Emphasis on the non-terrestrial qualities of Laura is the key to a group of sonnets appearing late in the collection;<sup>1</sup> but not all that is celestial is Platonic, and no Platonism can properly be read into them.

The progression or scale in the advance from observation of beauty sense-perceived to comprehension of imperishable and changeless Beauty is an important part of the Platonic theory. In its most inchoate expression, exemplified in the sonnets last referred to, it cannot be distinguished from a vague semi-religious aspiration or an attribution of certain characteristics of divinity to a beloved creature. Certain formulations, however, identify their source as definitely Platonic; these are formulations which trace in detail the advance, in object and in spirit, of love—and particularly those which use the specific metaphors appearing in the dialogues. Such a passage appears in the celebrated Canzone CCCLX, wherein Petrarch hales

<sup>1</sup> CCCXIX, CCXXXIX, CCCL.



Love before the bar of Reason to gain a judgment as to whether Love has done him more good than harm. Line 136 begins the significant passage:

Ancor (e questo è quel che tutto avanza)  
 Da volar sopra 'l ciel li avea dat'ali  
 Per le cose mortali,  
 Che son scala al Fattor, chi ben l'estima;  
 Ché, mirando ei ben fiso quante e quali  
 Eran virtuti in quella sua speranza,  
 D'una in altra sembianza  
 Potea levarsi a l'alta cagion prima:  
 Et ei l'ha detto alcuna volta in rima.

Here the poet has laid under contribution two of the dialogues: the *Phaedrus* for the metaphor of the wings and the *Symposium* for the account of that process by which a true philosophic lover comes to apprehend the nature of true and immutable beauty. The passage<sup>1</sup> from the first-named dialogue is too long for transcription here, but excerpts from the "Analysis" which Jowett places before his translation will show its essence:

There is a fourth kind of madness—that of love—which cannot be explained without enquiring into the nature of the soul. All soul is immortal, for she is the source of all motion in herself and in others. Her form may be described in a figure as a composite nature made up of a charioteer and a pair of winged steeds. The steeds of the gods are immortal, but ours are one mortal and the other immortal. The immortal soul sours upwards into the heavens, but the mortal drops her plumes and settles upon the earth. Now the use of the wing is to rise and carry the downward element into the upper world, there to behold beauty, wisdom, goodness and the other things of God by which the soul is nourished. . . . If [the soul] drops her wings and falls to the earth, then she takes the form of man. . . . When a thousand years have elapsed the souls meet together and choose the lives which they will lead for another period of existence. The soul which three times in succession has chosen the life of a philosopher or of a lover who is not without philosophy receives her wings at the close of the third millennium; the remainder have to complete a cycle of ten thousand years before their wings are restored to them. . . . When [the philosopher] beholds the visible beauty of earth his enraptured soul passes in thought to those glorious sights of justice and wisdom and temperance and truth which she once gazed upon in heaven. . . . Then the stiffened wing begins to relax and grow again; desire which has been imprisoned pours over the soul of the lover; the germ of the wing un-

<sup>1</sup> 246-56.

folds, and stings, and pangs of birth, like the cutting of teeth, are everywhere felt. . . . When the time comes [the lover and the beloved] receive their wings and fly away, and the lovers have the same wings.

Of course, not all poetic reference to wings or flight can be traced to a Platonistic source, for Horace in *Odes* ii. 20 introduced the expressions to a public which was to broaden in the Renaissance;<sup>1</sup> but the connection of such reference with the loftiness of goal set before a lover at least suggests its being Platonistic. The filiation of idea in the rest of the passage quoted from Petrarch's canzone is however clear beyond peradventure; the source whether immediate or not is the passage in the *Symposium*<sup>2</sup> wherein the sage Diotima is enlightening Socrates in the philosophy of love:

He who has been instructed thus far in the things of love, and who has learned to see the beautiful in true order and succession, when he comes toward the end will see a nature of wondrous beauty . . . beauty absolute, separate, simple, and everlasting, which without diminution and without increase, or any change, is imparted to the ever-growing and perishing beauties of all other things. He who from these ascending under the influence of true love, begins to perceive that beauty, is not far from the end. And the true order of going, or being led by another, to the things of love, is to begin from the beauties of earth and mount upwards for the sake of that other beauty, using these as steps only, and from one going on to two, and from two to all fair forms . . . until . . . he arrives at the notion of absolute beauty, and at last knows what the essence of beauty is.

This is exactly the process, applied to the pursuit of beauty, which in the *Republic* and elsewhere<sup>3</sup> is applied to the search for reality—the doctrine of the Ideas, which lies at the base of the theory of Platonic love.

This is the one passage in the *Canzoniere* which presents with such convincing accuracy in detail a thought which is unquestionably derived from Plato. The vaguer idealism of much of Petrarch's verse may be reasonably ascribed to the influence of non-Platonistic sources, and cannot serve to prove that the Italian owed (whether consciously or not) a debt to the Greek. However, there is in Canzone LXXII an echo of idea which may indicate this poem to be referred to in line 144

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nollac, *op. cit.*, I, 181.

<sup>2</sup> 210-12.

<sup>3</sup> *Rep.* vi. 509 ff., vii *passim*; *Phaedo* 65-66, 73-76; *Meno passim*.

of the canzone (CCCLX) lately under consideration. It is in the opening of LXXII that the pertinent idea appears:

Gentil mia donna, i' veggio  
 Nel mover de' vostr'occhi un dolce lume,  
 Che mi mostra la via ch'al ciel conduce;  
 E per lungo costume,  
 Dentro là, dove sol con Amor seggio,  
 Quasi visibilmente il cor traluçe.  
 Questa è la vista ch'a ben far m'induce  
 E che mi scorge al glorioso fine;  
 Questa sola dal vulgo m'allontana ...  
 Io penso: Se là suso  
 Onde 'l motor eterno de le stelle  
 Degnò mostrar del suo lavoro in terra,  
 Son l'altr'opere sì belle;  
 Aprasi la pregione ov'io son chiuso,  
 E che 'l camino a tal vita mi serra.  
 Poi mi rivolgo a la mia usata guerra,  
 Ringraziando natura e 'l dî ch'io nacqui,  
 Che reservato m'hanno a tanto bene,  
 E lei ch'a tanta spene  
 Alzò il mio cor. ...

Here, although the terms are not so specifically Platonic as in Canzone CCCLX, the spirit is strongly so: The sight of Laura brings to the poet's mind those eternal beauties laid up in heaven by the Creator, so that Petrarch is set on the path to celestial fairness by his contemplation of his lady. It is significant, however, that Petrarch does not follow that path, as a convinced Platonist must do: if we are to suppose that the line beginning *Poi mi rivolgo* means 'I return to my thought of Laura,' we must also suppose that Petrarch remained content with his distant vision of heavenly beauty while gratefully contemplating that of Laura on earth. It seems probable that here Petrarch was using some scraps of Platonistic terminology with no more concern for their implications in the basic doctrine than a poet need be expected to show.

Another passage in which a spirit at least suggestive of Platonism may be observed occurs in Sonnet CCCXXXIX, to which reference has already been made in another connection (see p. 164). Here, if one is to follow Muratori's interpretation, Petrarch records his having

learned to love Laura's outward beauty without having been able to raise his *intelletto* to an appreciation of the *forme altere celesti et immortali*. The opening lines of the sonnet run:

Conobbi, quanto il ciel li occhi m'aperse,  
Quanto studio et Amor m'alzaron l'ali,  
Cose nove e leggiadre, ma mortali,  
Che 'n un soggetto ogni stella cosperse.

The succeeding quatrain has already been cited. The whole sonnet is really a self-excuse for Petrarch's inability to be adequate in his verse to the qualities of Laura who inspired it, and does not appear necessarily to owe any debt to Plato.

The citations would be too numerous if each passage could be here adduced in which there appears the idea of Laura's virtue or spiritual charm; but since this idea cannot by its mere nature lay claim to being an example of Platonism, one or two exemplars must suffice, in order to indicate the general atmosphere which is too frequently referred to Platonistic color in Petrarch's thought.

Sonnet CCXXVIII builds up the picture of the laurel rooted in the poet's heart, nourished by his tears and fanned by his sighing. Of the plant he says

Fama onor e vertute e leggiadria,  
Casta bellezza in abito celeste,  
Son le radici de la nobil pianta.

This is the merest vague idealism; there is indeed in the account of Petrarch's cultivation of the laurel a definitely anti-Platonic touch, inasmuch as a Platonic love is not one in which the emotions of despair and grief have any part. A considerable number of poems in the *Canzoniere*<sup>1</sup> bear the theme of Laura's virtue and divinity in such tenuous style that they cannot be ascribed to Platonic influence; and others suggest, but with insufficient clarity, the ennobling effect on the lover's soul which should flow from his contemplation of her fairness.<sup>2</sup>

The fact appears clear, upon study, that Petrarch uses the figure of the stair to the realm of the Ideas in only one case, and that where he suggests it in idea he often presents with it or in combination with it the expression of a spirit far removed from Platonic doctrine.

<sup>1</sup> Sonnets CCCXIX, CCXXVIII, CCCLI.

<sup>2</sup> Sonnets CLIV, CCCVI, Sestina CXLII.

One of the most famous of the Platonic metaphors is that of the winged steeds and their driver, already adduced<sup>1</sup> in connection with a passage in Canzone CCCLX. Plato varies the application of the figure, designating by its means those lovers who are in the process of recollecting the true nature of beauty as it had appeared to them in an earlier incarnation or before their assuming the veil of flesh. While there is but one presentation in the *Canzoniere* of the figure in a form which can be ascribed to a directly Platonistic rather than to a Horatian or a Pindaric source (the "wings of poesy" had raised earlier swans than Petrarch), yet a few cases merit passing notice.

The reasonably clear instance appears in the fertile passage of Canzone CCCLX which appears to be the only text of antecedents almost certainly Platonistic. Here Love is said to have given the poet wings to fly to heaven by way of the things of earth, which are a stair to the presence of the Maker. This version suggests both the flight of the chariot with its twin steeds into the world of Ideas, and to a slighter extent the endowment of the lover, under the influence of recollected Justice, Temperance, and Knowledge, with the wings which shall bear him and his beloved to their eternal beatitudes. Elsewhere, however, the idea of wings or flight appears in so colorless a style as to offer no trustworthy evidence of origin.<sup>2</sup>

One of Plato's most famous and profound metaphors is that which describes the human soul as being composed of three elements—the animal impulse, the will, and the intelligence. In the *Republic* viii. 588, these elements are described respectively as a dragon, a lion, and a miniature man, of which all three are mingled within the human constitution. In *Phaedrus* 246-56<sup>3</sup> the picture is that of a charioteer and his two steeds, the one black and vicious, the other white and tractable. Upon approaching the "vision of love," the black horse rushes on to enjoy, and must be severely disciplined by the charioteer until he is ready to obey the bit; thereafter the tripartite group moves in harmony and reverence.

<sup>1</sup> P. 167.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., in Sonnets CLXXX, CCCXXXVI, CCCXXXIX.

<sup>3</sup> For other presentations of the figure, see *Rep.* iv. 435-42; vi. 504A; viii. 550A; ix. 571 580E, 581, 588; also *Timaeus* 69E-72, 89E.

An appearance in literature of the metaphor implied in the term "unbridled" can hardly offhand be ascribed to a source in one writer—particularly in a civilization in which the horse has been so much a part of artistic subject matter, and most of all in the work of a poet so fond of sport as Petrarch. The problem of distinguishing is peculiarly difficult here because Plato has himself chosen a metaphor which has very little individuality—has chosen it, indeed, from the same stream of figurative speech which has carried it into present-day language. In fact, as reference will show, Petrarch never uses the figure as Plato does—with the threefold division—but rather affects the contrast of the *voler* with the *ragion* in their struggle for mastery in the poet's soul. This is too commonplace a usage to need more than current mention.<sup>1</sup>

It appears, then, on examination of the *Canzoniere* in quest of passages attributable without doubt to Platonistic influence, that only one text presents clear filiation with the dialogues which deal with the universe, with the nature of the soul, or with love. That text, from Canzone CCCLX (already cited, p. 167), comes very directly from a passage in the *Phaedrus* and another more important one in the *Symposium*. Petrarch's own source could not have been the Greek, for his knowledge of the tongue had a value rather polemic than scholarly; it is evident from Nohac's conclusions<sup>2</sup> that the slight training which the poet-humanist received from Barlaam did no more than whet an appetite which remained unsatisfied. The *Timaeus* Petrarch did possess, but in the translation and with the commentary of Chalcidius; it may just possibly be from this source that flow the references to the stars as the homes of human souls, although the idea had become widespread in literature before his day and is explicitly ascribed by Dante to Plato's *Timaeus*. In this general realm of speculation Cicero is influential, with his respect for the authority of Plato and in particular with his expositions of the *Timaeus*,<sup>3</sup> and the combined weight of

<sup>1</sup> Sonnets VI, CXL, CXLVII, CLXI, CLXXIII, CLXXVIII, CCXXXVI, CCXL, CCLXVI, CCXC, CCCLI; Canzone CCLXIV, 33; and cf. *Tr. mort.* II, 116-17; *Secr.* II, 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 138.

<sup>3</sup> Gentile, "Dialoghi di Platone posseduti dal Petrarca," *Rassegna Critica della letteratura italiana*, IX (1904), 209, points out that Petrarch used Apuleius' *De Platónico Dogmate* and Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* for *Rer. memor.* 1. 2. Gentile's main thesis is that Petrarch did not know the *Republic* or the *Laws*, but possessed a translation of the *Phaedo* and some other dialogue.

Cicero and of Augustine would increase Petrarch's respect for the philosopher whose thought was only so slightly accessible to him in its original tongue. The problem of Petrarch's source for the passage in Canzone CCCLX is an alluring one, linked as it is both to the question of his ability to read Greek and of the versions of Platonic dialogues extant in his day.<sup>1</sup> Barlaam may have translated a portion of the *Phaedrus* and another of the *Symposium* for his pupil; but why, then, was not Petrarch's ready imagination stirred to a further study and use of Plato's poetic fictions? It seems more probable that Petrarch found in a non-Greek author—possibly Augustine—a passage which closely reproduced the two strands of Plato's thought without acknowledging his authorship; the poet might then have been struck by the vigorous beauty of the conceptions and have merged the passage in his own work without realizing its history. This hypothesis would moreover help to explain why no references to *Phaedrus* or *Symposium* appear to be made in Petrarch's works or in his annotations on volumes in his library.

Traces of positive Platonism in the *Canzoniere* are then evidently extremely slight. In fact, if it were possible to disregard the passage in Canzone CCCLX and its concomitant in Canzone LXXII, there would be little internal reason to suppose that Petrarch had ever heard of Plato's work or had done more than pick up Vergilian or Ciceronian reminiscences without recognizing their implications or history. With the exception of the two passages mentioned the *Canzoniere* could be said to be a document of Platonic love only by straining the term beyond its proper capacity.

Judged by the double definition of Platonic love offered on page 165, the spirit of the *Canzoniere* as a whole is far from Platonic. There are certain well-defined cases in point:

The first class of anti-Platonistic conceptions is that which suggests that Petrarch's affection for Laura was qualified by a physical rather than by a spiritual attraction. Two of the sestine<sup>2</sup> express Petrarch's desire to spend an endless night in Laura's company. He elsewhere acknowledges the weakening which his worthiest ambitions

<sup>1</sup> Gentile (*op. cit.*, p. 205, n. 3) offers useful references in this field.

<sup>2</sup> XXII, 31-36; CCXXXVII, 31-36.



had suffered under the influence of his love,<sup>1</sup> and even blasphemes against Love, the perverter of honorable aspiration. Sonnet CCXCII cites the beauties of feature and form which Laura had possessed and which now *poca polvere son che nulla sente*. The destruction of her body means for Petrarch the end of his love and the beginning of blank despair. Here if anywhere in the *Canzoniere* is the direct antithesis of the Platonic principle.

In the second class of anti-Platonistic passages appear those whose burden is Petrarch's unhappiness in the course of his love—since it is essential to a Platonic love that as its object is supra-terrestrial and unchanging Beauty so its nature must be calm and elevating. The foremost example of this class is the famous Canzone CCCLX, in which the head and front of Petrarch's charge against Love is the suffering which Love has imposed upon him. Laura's beauty on earth has not been a guide toward the vision of celestial Beauty, and when her light is extinguished he wanders in wretched darkness. Again, Sonnet CCLXXIII has the same tenor; and the Prayer to the Virgin (Canzone CCCLXVI 84) contains Petrarch's confession that in all his life he has never known peace. In Sonnet CCCXLIV even Laura's beatification cannot console the poet for losing her; while in her appearance in a dream she promises to him that by God's will they may live in heaven as they have lived on earth—he suing and she alternately granting and denying. Sonnet XXXII was written on the occasion of Laura's illness; the poet bids his thought turn from his love, since with the disappearance of Laura's body in her death, he will lose his own unhappiness, which is founded on hope and kindred emotions aroused by the beauty of that body.

To summarize: Petrarch uses in one poem a pair of indubitable borrowings from Plato's *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*, expression and underlying idea both being Platonistic; but elsewhere in the *Canzoniere* there is nothing that clearly owes a debt to the Greek philosopher, and much that is definitely counter to the spirit of Platonic love.

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<sup>1</sup> Sonnets CCLXV, COLXXXIX; Canzoni COLXIV, 91-94; CCCLXVI, 82-86.

## THE SOURCES OF THE CHARACTERS IN *THE SHOEMAKER'S HOLIDAY*

FOR the suggestion for the framework of *The Shoemaker's Holiday* Dekker is indebted to Thomas Deloney's *The Gentle Craft*.<sup>1</sup> It will not be necessary to trace this connection in detail, as Professor Lange in his edition of Dekker's play points out many parallels.<sup>2</sup> It is commonly known that the central figure of Simon Eyre is based upon an actual mayor of London; and it has been suggested that Dekker may have obtained the names of some of his other characters from such a chronicle as that of Fabyan.<sup>3</sup> However, no critic has gone beyond this generalization that some of the characters might have been secured from chronicles. It is the purpose of this paper to show that Dekker exercised reasonable historical accuracy in naming his characters—an accuracy which is at variance with the romantic spirit of the legend about Eyre, "the mad shoemaker of Tower street."

Having recognized the dramatic value of the story in *The Gentle Craft*, Dekker seems to have corrected Deloney's historical inaccuracies in so far as was consistent with the plot, and then to have substituted the names of actual historical characters for those employed by Deloney. The facts about Simon Eyre as they are presented by Deloney, Dekker, and the various chroniclers are best shown in Table I.

The events in Eyre's life covered by the play are those from 1434, the year of his election as sheriff, to the banquet on Shrove Tuesday, 1446. For dramatic reasons it was necessary to condense decidedly this period of time; consequently Dekker omits some of Deloney's details about Eyre as well as some historical facts. Considering this condensation, however, the only changes Dekker makes from

<sup>1</sup> Printed 1597-98. Edited by Alexis F. Lange, *Palaestra XVIII*, Berlin, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> Lange, Introduction to *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, in *Representative English Comedies* (ed. C. M. Gayley; New York and London, 1914), Vol. III.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 9. Lange states correctly that Dekker's Lord Mayor Otley is accurate historically, and suggests that the names Scott, Askew, Lacy, and Lovell may have been derived from chronicles.

TABLE I

Deloney	Dekker	History
Eyre came to London from the north country.	No origin given.	A native of Brandon, Suffolk (northeast of London).*
Became a shoemaker.	A shoemaker.	Stow says Eyre was first an upholsterer, then a draper.†
Bought argosy and became wealthy.	Bought argosy and became wealthy.	No historical authority; in fact it seems that Eyre was of a family of substantial merchants.‡
Elected sheriff.	Elected sheriff.	Elected sheriff, 1434.§
Elected alderman.	Omitted by Dekker because of necessary condensation of time.	Alderman for Walbrook.
Elected mayor.	Elected mayor.¶	Elected mayor, 1445.**
Became a draper.	Not in Dekker—the play stops in the year of Eyre's mayoralty.	Became draper from upholsterer, but no date given. Eyre was a draper several years before being elected sheriff.††
Built Leadenhall after mayoralty.	Built Leadenhall immediately before or during mayoralty.	Built Leadenhall in either 1419 or 1445–46.‡‡
Appointed Shrove Tuesday as banquet day for the apprentices; originated pancake bell.	Appointed Shrove Tuesday for the banquet, but did not originate pancake bell.	No authority. The pancake bell was of much earlier origin.§§
Appointed Mondays for the sale of leather at Leadenhall.	The King, at Eyre's request, appointed Mondays and Fridays for the sale of leather.	Queen Elizabeth in the fifth year of her reign appointed Mondays.
Died with great honor, but no mention of philanthropy except Leadenhall.	No mention, since the play ends before his death.	Died in 1459, leaving much to charity.¶¶

\* B. B. Orridge, *Some Account of the Citizens of London and Their Rulers from 1080 to 1867* (London, 1867), p. 221.

† John Stow, *A Survey of London by John Stow* (ed. C. L. Kingsford; 2 vols.; Oxford, 1908), I, 153–54.

‡ As early as 1426 Simon Eyre seems to have been a draper of means. He instituted proceedings on July 21, 1426, for the collection of a debt for wool cloth sold by him amounting to £291 (*Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry VI* [London, 1901], I, 362). Other volumes of this series contain numerous entries of a similar nature, and also many entries to a wealthy Thomas Eyre (Simon Eyre's father?) and to Simon Eyre's son Thomas. For this story of the acquisition of Eyre's wealth, Deloney and Dekker probably had recourse to legends or ballads now forgotten.

§ Robert Fabyan, *The New Chronicles of England and France by Robert Fabyan* (ed. Henry Ellis; London, 1811), p. 608; Stow, *op. cit.*, II, 173; Orridge, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

|| Orridge, *op. cit.*, p. 221; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry VI* (London, 1910), VI, 132, 134, 486.

¶ Lange in his Introduction, p. 7, says in reference to Dekker's election of Eyre as mayor that for dramatic purposes it was necessary to effect "... a rigorous compression, which involves even the untimely death of a number of aldermen ..." as suggested by Hodge (IV, II, 35–36). "They say, seven of the aldermen be dead, or very sicke." In this connection there is the following entry in *Medieval London* (William Benham and Charles

Deloney's Eyre seem to be attempts at the correction of inaccuracies. These changes are:

1. In the building of Leadenhall. As has been noted, Dekker places the construction of this building immediately before or during Eyre's tenure of office as mayor—a change which is accurate historically.
2. In Dekker's failure to employ Deloney's attribution of the origin of the "pancake" bell to Eyre, although the bell is used in the play. He thus avoids another historical error.
3. In the appointment of the leather-selling days. Neither Deloney nor Dekker is correct. Dekker incorrectly adds Fridays to Deloney's Mondays; but, instead of having Eyre appoint the days himself, as Deloney does, he has the King grant Eyre's request, thereby making the story politically more accurate.

Around the central figure of Simon Eyre, Dekker places historical characters of Eyre's own time. If Dekker looked up Eyre in one of the chronicles, he could not fail to find the name of Sir Roger Otley (Oteley, Oateley) as mayor when Eyre was sheriff.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, it was natural for him to give this name to Deloney's nameless mayor. Otley also occupies the position filled by the emperor in Deloney's

Welch [London, 1901], p. 19): "Two Lord Mayors and six Aldermen died of the sweating sickness in the first year of Henry the Seventh's reign." While this entry is not within Eyre's time, it reduces the absurdity of Dekker's use of such means.

\*\* Fabyan, *op. cit.*, p. 618; Orridge, *op. cit.*, p. 221; Stow, *op. cit.*, II, 174.

†† *Ante*, n. †.

‡‡ Stow, *op. cit.*, p. 154, follows Maitland in the date 1419, hence Dekker did not get his information from Stow (first printed in 1598). Another chronicle, under the years 1445-46 (Eyre's administration), says, "And that same yere was agernarde be-gon for pore pepylle of the contraye that myght nought utter hyr graynys; and hyt was made by the coste and goodys of Symon Eyre, Mayre of London . . ." (*The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century* [ed. James Gairdner; Camden Society, 1876; N.S.], XVII, 187). Dekker refers to Leadenhall as "that new building . . ." (V, v, 130).

§§ *Notes and Queries* (2d ser.), VII, 450-51; *ibid.* (3d ser.), VI, 404; VIII, 509.

||| See note in Lange, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

¶¶ Stow, *op. cit.*, I, 154. Eyre was knighted (Orridge, *op. cit.*, p. 221; *History from Marble Compiled in the Reign of Charles II* [ed. John Gough Nichols; Camden Society, 1868], p. cccxxv). He left the tavern called the Cardinal's Hat, a tenement, and a mansion to a brotherhood of St. Mary Woolnoth, where he was buried (Stow, *op. cit.*, I, 205; II, 309); he provided for a general distribution for the relief of the poor in and about London; and he left another benefaction of 3,000 marks for the establishment of a permanent chapel master and assistants and for masters for grammar, writing, and music for the chapel he built in Leadenhall. There were various other benefactions (Stow, *op. cit.*, I, 153-54). These charities were certain to justify Deloney's character of Eyre, ". . . whose fame liveth in the mouths of many men to this day."

<sup>1</sup> Or Sir Robert Otley; there is authority for both Roger and Robert, though Fabyan and Stow both give the name as Robert. Dekker in using Roger does not follow, therefore, either Fabyan or Stow. Otley was a grocer and was mayor in 1434 (Stow, *op. cit.*, II, 173; Orridge, *op. cit.*, p. 220; Fabyan, *op. cit.*, pp. 598, 608).

tale of Crispine and Crispianus, while his daughter Rose<sup>1</sup> takes the place of Ursula. Rowland Lacy is substituted for Crispine, and again Dekker uses the name of an actual person contemporary with Eyre.<sup>2</sup> Crispianus, the soldier, becomes Askew, cousin—not brother, as in Deloney's tale—to Rowland Lacy. In using the name Askew (Ask, Aske, Ascough, Ayscough), Dekker perhaps had in mind Conand Askew, who was with the Gloucester lances in the battle of Agincourt; who was given a commission of array in the Isle of Wight in 1435 because of the frequent invasions there by the King's enemies; and who, on July 13, 1436, was in charge of a body of men-at-arms and archers who were about to proceed to Calais at an almost contemporary date with Dekker's account of Askew's taking Lacy's troops against the French.<sup>3</sup> Associated as Askew is in Dekker's play with the French wars, the name is properly used. Perhaps from some genealogy-book Dekker found that Conand Askew was related to the Lacies.

In the place of the king of Logria, Sir Hugh Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, appears. In using this name Dekker falls into a serious historical error. There were only three Lacies who were earls of Lincoln:

1. John de Lacy, made Earl of Lincoln in 1232.
2. Edmund de Lacy, a captain in the Royal Army in Gascony.
3. Henry de Lacy, also a captain in the Royal Army in Gascony, who died in London on February 5, 1311, and was buried in St. Paul's. His only surviving child, Alice (1283-1348), married (1) the Earl of Lancaster who died before 1336, and (2) Hugh de Freyne who became Earl of Lincoln in his wife's right. He died in 1359.

None of the Lacies who were earls of Lincoln bore the name of Hugh, though there were two Hugh de Lacies, one baron, the other Earl of Ulster. And there were no earls of Lincoln during the period 1359-1467. John de la Pole was created Earl of Lincoln in 1467; and the incumbent of the earldom during Dekker's time was a Clinton, son of Edward Clinton (1512-95), Lord High Admiral, husband of Henry VIII's mistress, Elizabeth Blount.<sup>4</sup> However, during the reigns of

<sup>1</sup> Dekker may have got her name from some pedigree-book. Since she married Rowland Lacy, it is a matter of interest to note that the *Dictionary of National Biography* shows that three of the wives of Lacies were named Rose, though Rowland Lacy does not appear in that work.

<sup>2</sup> Rowland Lacy's shield was at one time on the wall of Queen's College, near an inscription commemorating Henry V as a student in that college (*History from Marble*, I, 70).

<sup>3</sup> Sir Harris Nicolas, *History of the Battle of Agincourt* (3d ed.; London, 1833), p. 335; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry VI* (London, 1907), II, 472, 536. Conand Askew was the son of Robert Askew and Isabel de Perte (*Visitations of the North* [Surtees Society, 1912], CXXII, Part I, 138).

<sup>4</sup> James E. Doyle, *The Official Baronage of England, 1066-1885* (3 vols.; London, 1886), II, 373-80; *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Henry IV, V, and VI (until 1455) there was an Edmund Lacy, chancellor of Oxford University, Bishop of Hereford, Bishop of Exeter, who was dean of the King's chapel—a very prominent dignitary who lent considerable sums of money to the King.<sup>1</sup> He is mentioned in most of the chronicles of the period, and perhaps the Lacy name suggested the title to Dekker.

In justification of Dekker's use of the Earl of Lincoln, it should be pointed out that the founders of the line were Hugh de Lacies; that the Lacy name was associated with the earldom; that the last Earl of Lincoln who was connected with the Lacy family was named Hugh; and that the Lacies were prominent in the wars with France. Of interest also is the following comment on Lincoln's Inn, a well-known landmark in Dekker's day:

In this place after the decease of the sayde Bishoppe, and in place of the house of Blacke Fryers, before spoken of, *Henry Lacy*, Earle of Lincolne, Constable of Chester, and Custos of England, builded his Inne, and for the most parte was lodged there: hee deceased in this house in the yeare 1310, and was buried in the new worke, (whervnto he had beene a great benefactor) of saint Pauls church. . . . This Lincolnes Inne sometime pertayning to the Bishops of Chicester, as a part of the sayde great house, is now an Inne of Court, retayning the name of Lincolnes Inne as afore. . . . In the raigne of *H. the 8.* sir *Thomas Louell* was a great builder there, especially he builded the gate house and forefront towards the east, placing thereon as well the *Lacies* armes as his owne: hee caused the *Lacies* arms to bee cast and wrought in leade, on the louter of the hall of that house. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Dekker was, no doubt, familiar with Lincoln's Inn, where the Lacy arms were displayed alongside those of Lovell, and from those arms he may have got the names of both Lovell and Lacy.

The subplot (the romance and marriage of Florence and Nicholas as related by Deloney) is represented by the marriage and adventures of Ralph Dampont and Jane. A John Dampont was king's messenger in Eyre's time,<sup>3</sup> but I have found no Ralph Dampont. The name is a most uncommon one, yet it is the only surname given to members of the apprentice class in the play. There were many Davenports; perhaps Dampont is a corruption of that name.

Three London citizens are introduced—all, evidently, of some im-

<sup>1</sup> Nicolas, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 389; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry VI* (London, 1907), III, 536, etc.; Charles Edward Mallet, *A History of the University of Oxford* (New York, 1924), I, 92.

<sup>2</sup> Stow, *op. cit.*, II, 90.

<sup>3</sup> Frederick Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer, Henry III—Henry VI* (London, 1837), pp. 325, 349, 370, 392, 451.



portance. One of these, Hammon, is involved in both romances. A John Hammon, citizen and fishmonger of London, was contemporary with Eyre.<sup>1</sup> Associated with him are Masters Warner and Scott—perhaps Robert Warner, citizen and mercer of London, who was a benefactor of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where a monument stands to the memory of him and his wife;<sup>2</sup> and Thomas Scott, draper, sheriff of London in 1447 and mayor in 1458.<sup>3</sup>

To these characters Dekker adds the King, Cornwall, and Lovell, the last two being courtiers. According to Lange, the King represented is Henry V, who died in 1422. He says that Dekker seized the opportunity to give "a glimpse of the victor of Agincourt, in a playful mood."<sup>4</sup> In contradiction to this theory is his statement that Dodger's reference to the battle in Act III, scene ii, is "probably as imaginary as Bobadill's description of the capture of Strigonium."<sup>5</sup> Had Dekker intended to refer to Agincourt, it seems that there would have been no point in omitting the name of the battle, or especially of giving a false date. Such obscurity would not arouse the patriotic spirit of the audience. Since there was trouble with France during the reign of Henry VI<sup>6</sup> as well as under Henry V, and since Henry VI was king of England during Eyre's time, it is more reasonable to suppose that Dekker intended the reference to be to Henry VI. There is no clue as to the King's identity unless it is found in the lines:

KING: Nay, Rose, never woove me; I tel you true,  
Although as yet I am a batchellor,  
Yet I beleeeve, I shal not marry you.<sup>7</sup>

Henry VI (born 1421; king, 1422–61) was unmarried while Eyre was sheriff and until the year before Eyre was chosen mayor.<sup>8</sup> On April 22, 1444, he was married, and on May 28 the royal pair entered London in triumph, being met by the mayor, aldermen, and prominent citizens.<sup>9</sup> The slight anachronism is unimportant, particularly since the period 1434–46 is condensed into less than a year. The triumph or progress of

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry VI, VI*, 315.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 534; II, 352; Stow, *op. cit.*, II, 23.

<sup>3</sup> Fabyan, *op. cit.*, pp. 619, 633; Stow, *op. cit.*, II, 174–75; Orridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–21.

<sup>4</sup> Lange, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> Fabyan, *op. cit.*, pp. 610–11, 613, 618, mentions fighting between the English and French in 1435–36 (cf. *ante*, p. 178, n. 3), in 1439–40, and in 1445–46.

<sup>7</sup> V, v, 85–87.

<sup>8</sup> *Inglulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland* (ed. Henry T. Riley; London, 1854), p. 402, gives the date of the marriage as 1445, the year of Eyre's mayoralty; but the correct date was 1444.

<sup>9</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*; Fabyan, *op. cit.*, p. 617.



the King and Queen, in which Eyre as an alderman probably participated, finds its parallel in Eyre's entertaining the King—an episode which Deloney does not employ.

Cornwall's appearance in the play is brief, his name being mentioned twice, both times without title.<sup>1</sup> The *dramatis personae* was first supplied in 1862 by Fritsche,<sup>2</sup> who added the title of Earl without authority. In 1336 the last Earl of Cornwall died; the earldom was changed into a duchy and was given to the eldest son of the King, thus becoming crown property. Consequently, there was no Earl of Cornwall after 1336, nor was there a Duke of Cornwall from 1413 to 1453.<sup>3</sup> Dekker perhaps intended the name to refer to Sir John Cornwall, who was contemporary with Eyre—a prominent knight, a staunch supporter of Henry VI, and created by him Lord Fanhope, custos of the Privy Seal. He was prominent in the battle of Agincourt, furnishing thirty men-at-arms and ninety foot-archers himself. He was friendly enough to London and its citizens to give a home to the Fishmongers.<sup>4</sup> Associated as he was with the French wars, friendly with the King, friendly to the citizens of London, Cornwall is a fitting character.

Another courtier, Lovell, also has a brief appearance—for one speech in Act I, scene i. That he should enter once and still be named is additional evidence of Dekker's attempt at accuracy. John Lovell, eleventh Lord Lovell, Viscount Lovell, Baron Lovell of Tichmarsh, Holand, Deincourt, and Grey of Rotherfield, died in 1464. He was a member of the Privy Council and an adherent of Henry VI. He lived in Lovell's Inn, on Newgate Street north of St. Paul's.<sup>5</sup> The association with the Lincoln name has been pointed out.<sup>6</sup>

Not content, evidently, with the use of historic characters, Dekker is careful that every reference to people in the speeches of the characters is to real people. Dodger speaks of "Captaine Hyam and yong Ardyngton"<sup>7</sup>—Thomas Ardyngton was contemporary with Eyre,<sup>8</sup> and John Higham was sheriff of London in 1426.<sup>9</sup> In Act II, scene i, Sybil

<sup>1</sup> V, v, 36, 44.

<sup>2</sup> Lange, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Doyle, *op. cit.*, I, 442-47.

<sup>4</sup> Stow, *op. cit.*, I, 215; II, 31; J. S. Davies, *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI.* (Camden Society, 1856), LXIV, 35; Nicolas, *op. cit.*, p. 378; Nicolas, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England* (London, 1835), IV, 44, 156, etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*; Doyle, *op. cit.*, II, 419-20; Nicolas, *ibid.*, pp. 104, 304, 317, 324, etc.; Stow, *op. cit.*, I, 192, 343; II, 351. A descendant, Sir Thomas Lovell, built the "weyhouse" on Cornhill Street and gave it to the grocers.

<sup>6</sup> Ante, p. 179, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> III, II, 10-11.

<sup>8</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry V* (London, 1911), II, 461.

<sup>9</sup> Stow, *op. cit.*, II, 172; Fabyan, *op. cit.*, p. 597; Orridge, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

gives her mistress Rose the greetings of her uncle "Maister Philpot." John Philpot was sheriff of London in 1372 and mayor in 1378-79. He, like Otley, was a grocer, and was generally regarded as the greatest member of that guild. He was knighted on the field in 1381 for assisting in the arrest of Wat Tyler; he was a member of Parliament for London; and he was known as an excellent mayor. His grandson, also Sir John Philpot, was contemporary with Eyre. His house in London was in Langbourne Ward.<sup>1</sup> Any reference to this distinguished gentleman or to his descendants would be greeted with respect, particularly since his many charities to the city and country were well remembered.<sup>2</sup>

Other appellations I take to be vulgarisms or borrowed names or titles from other plays, such as Cisly Bumtricket from *Satiro-Mastix*, and Madge Mumble-Crust from *Ralph Roister Doister*.

In combining the story of Eyre with that of Crispine and Crispianus, Dekker must have realized the necessity of substituting more recent characters for the legendary Crispine and Crispianus. The continued warfare with the French during Eyre's time made the fusion of the two stories justifiable. An earlier paper<sup>3</sup> shows that Dekker placed the action of the play in a realistic Elizabethan setting, and the evidence supplied by the foregoing discussion seems to establish the theory that *The Shoemaker's Holiday* is historical in so far as the source of the characters is concerned. To sum up, it has been shown that Simon Eyre, Roger Otley, Masters Warner, Scott, and Hammon, Lovell, and Cornwall, the King, and Rowland Lacy were actual historical figures who lived during the time of Eyre. The only flaw in the theory is the presence of Hugh Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, and for his presence several suggestions have been presented.

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<sup>1</sup> Stow, *op. cit.*, II, 168, 203; Fabyan, *op. cit.*, p. 597; Orridge, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> Stow, *op. cit.*, I, 19, 107, 220, 320; II, 168; Fabyan, *op. cit.*, pp. 483; 529; Orridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-17; *Chronicle of Grey Friars of London* (ed. John Gough Nichols; Camden Society, 1852), LIII, 13. A list of his various benefactions would occupy too much space, as would any summary of his municipal accomplishments. He was popularly known as the "head, heart, and hand" of the city. A lineage-book might show some connection between the families of Otleys and Philpots; though it is probable that Dekker made the reference because of the effect of the Philpot name upon the audience.

<sup>3</sup> *Studies in Philology*, XXVI (1929), 490-504.

## WILLIAM CONGREVE IN THE GOVERNMENT SERVICE

THE tradition of Congreve's wealth from governmental patronage began as early as 1699, when Charles Gildon stated that the production of *The Old Bachelor* in 1693 "gave both Fame and Fortune to our Author; at once made him known to the Town, and to an Honourable Mecænas [*sic*]; who, to the Satisfaction of all Lovers of Learning, Wit, and Poetry, has ever since prov'd a generous Friend to our Poet."<sup>1</sup> This somewhat vague statement regarding favors received by Congreve from Charles Montague, the "Mecænas," was made more definite by the notes of the dramatist Thomas Southerne written in 1736, seven years after Congreve's death, and still preserved in manuscript in the British Museum. According to these notes, *The Old Bachelor* secured for the author the patronage of Montague, who "putt him into the Commission for hackney coaches, and then into the Pipe Office, and then gave him a Patent place in the Customs of 600 Pds per ann. and Secretary to Jamaica, yt payd him 700 Pounds a year by deputy on ye Exchange at Lond."<sup>2</sup> Southerne said nothing about the dates for the appointments to the various offices nor about the length of tenure; but the inference was sufficient, in the eyes of subsequent biographers, to justify them in speaking of Congreve as very prosperous if not wealthy. Johnson said that as soon as Congreve had produced his first play Montague "immediately made him one of the commissioners for licensing coaches, and soon after gave him a place in the pipe-office, and another in the customs of six hundred pounds a year."<sup>3</sup> One biographer even went so far as to say that the secretaryship of Jamaica alone was worth twelve hundred pounds annually.<sup>4</sup> By the middle of the nineteenth century

<sup>1</sup> Langbaine, *Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets* (ed. Gildon; London, 1699), p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> British Museum Add. MSS 4221. Southerne's notes have been printed in the Appendix to Edmund Gosse's *Life of William Congreve* (London, 1888), pp. 187, 188.

<sup>3</sup> *The Lives of the English Poets* (ed. George Birkbeck Hill; Oxford, 1905), II, 215. The italics are mine. Johnson was probably following the account of Congreve in *Biographia Britannica*, the first edition of which appeared during the years 1747-66.

<sup>4</sup> See the sketch of the life of Congreve by John Watkins in his *Characteristic Anecdotes of Men of Learning and Genius, etc.* (London, 1808), pp. 420-25.

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the tradition of Congreve's easy, opulent life, made possible by a number of lucrative government sinecures, was thoroughly established and played no small part in motivating Thackeray's keenly satirical thrusts.<sup>1</sup>

The first writer to question the legend of Congreve's wealth was the late Sir Edmund Gosse, in his *Life of Congreve*, published over forty years ago; but Sir Edmund satisfied himself with challenging the story of the dramatist's early affluence, admitting that before the end of 1705 he had "a post of very considerable emolument" sufficient to make him a "rich man."<sup>2</sup> The latest important biographer, Dr. Dragosh Protopopescu, has returned to the traditional view that as early as 1695 Congreve had, from government offices alone, a yearly income of twelve hundred pounds.<sup>3</sup>

Students of Congreve have not felt satisfied with their knowledge of the dramatist's political life. Only a few years ago Sir Edmund Gosse observed that he had "shown how confused is all the evidence with regard to Congreve's offices."<sup>4</sup> More recently Mr. Joseph Krutch has written in a Preface to one of the latest editions of Congreve's comedies: ". . . It is not certain how abundantly he shared in the governmental favors then showered upon literary people. . . ."<sup>5</sup> Anyone reading the numerous conflicting accounts, only a few of which I have mentioned, must agree with Mr. Krutch. It is easy, however, to understand our present state of misinformation, based, as it very largely is, upon statements of contemporaries who were inadequately informed.

So far as I can tell, no one has hitherto taken the pains to trace Congreve's political life through the materials at the Public Records Office in London, which must be, after all, the final authority. Although I have by no means exhausted the possibilities of that wonderful collection, I have been able to date accurately for the first time the terms of the four offices he is most generally supposed to have

<sup>1</sup> "Congreve and Addison," *The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century*.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 154. Other references to the government offices are to be found on pp. 47, 48, 82, 83, 142, 146, 160, 163-65. The revised edition of the *Life* (London, 1924) adds no information regarding the government positions.

<sup>3</sup> *William Congreve, sa vie, son œuvre* (Paris, 1924), p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted from "A Note on Congreve," *London Mercury*, III (1921), 638-43, reprinted in *Aspects and Impressions* (London, 1922), pp. 77-86.

<sup>5</sup> *The Comedies of Congreve* (New York, 1927), p. ix.

held, and to determine his income from each, the total making a sum very much smaller than that traditionally attributed to the dramatist. In addition, the records show that Congreve held for three and a half years a minor post that has been overlooked, and that he apparently did not hold two much more lucrative positions that he was thought to have enjoyed.

The first office held by Congreve was that of commissioner for regulating and licensing hackney and stagecoaches, a place made vacant by resignations when the yearly salary was reduced from two hundred to one hundred pounds.<sup>1</sup> Although the commission was dated August 23, 1695, Congreve was appointed as of the preceding March 25 and actually paid from that date, according to the sworn statement in the Declared Accounts.<sup>2</sup> The office of the commissioners in a house in Surrey Street between the Strand and the river was very convenient for the dramatist, who was living in Arundel Street only a stone's throw to the east. But the proximity to the office was not, perhaps, a matter of any real importance, since he and his four fellow-commissioners in all likelihood left the work to the half-dozen subordinates.<sup>3</sup> Upon the death of William III, Congreve was granted a new commission,<sup>4</sup> and continued in office until the end of 1705. In the Declared Accounts for the year ending at midsummer, 1706, Congreve is mentioned as "late Commissioner" and as having been paid for only "halfe a yeare ended at Xmas 1705." Since the annual salary remained at one hundred pounds during the ten and three-fourths years of service, the total payments amounted to 1,075 pounds.

<sup>1</sup> Under date of June 6, 1695, *The Post Boy* has the following entry: "The Salary of the Commissioners for Licensing of Hackney and Stage-coaches being reduced to 100 l. per Annum, Mr. Ashurst, Mr. Overbury and Mr. Isham resigned their places, and are to be succeeded by Mr. Herne, Mr. Clark and Mr. Congreve." The Declared Accounts show that the salary was two hundred pounds yearly before 1695.

<sup>2</sup> See the Declared Accounts in the Public Records Office for the year ending at midsummer, 1696. Narcissus Luttrell (*A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from 1678 to 1714* [Oxford, 1857], III, 479) notes the appointment of Congreve under date of May 30, 1695. The date of the grant of the patent was July 12, 1695 (see Patent Roll No. 3378, 7 William III, Part I, No. 1).

<sup>3</sup> The Declared Accounts show that Congreve's fellow-commissioners in 1695 were Daniel Blake, Thomas Struckland, Edmund Clark, and Charnock Herne (spelled Heron in the Accounts for the next year). Yearly salaries were provided for one secretary (£50), one housekeeper and surveyor (£40), two messengers (£30 each), and two streetkeepers (£25 each). The office was rented from Rebecca Ingram for £38 annually.

<sup>4</sup> The commission was dated July 22, 1702 (see the Declared Accounts for the year ending at midsummer, 1703). Commissioner Struckland had been replaced by Abram Magney.

Congreve is thought to have been appointed to another office in 1697, apparently on the authority of Luttrell, who has the following notice in his diary for May 4 of that year: "Mr. Blake and Mr. Congreve, commissioners for licensing hackney coaches, are made also commissioners for hawkers and pedlars."<sup>1</sup> There must be some mistake here, since the Declared Accounts for the fiscal year 1697-98 and the following years do not include Congreve, but do name Samuel Atkinson, Thomas Hopkins, Anthony Duncombe, and John Henley as the four commissioners.<sup>2</sup> Probably we may accept Luttrell's statement as evidence for a proposed assignment that was never actually made.

Although Congreve failed to secure the more important commissionership for hawkers and peddlers, worth one hundred pounds annually, he was within a few years appointed to a lesser office that has, apparently, escaped the notice of his biographers. In July, 1700, he was made customer at Poole and was kept in office until the end of 1703.<sup>3</sup> The annual salary was only forty-eight pounds,<sup>4</sup> twenty of which were payable to the collector at Poole, who acted as deputy for the customer.<sup>5</sup> Thus Congreve's total receipts for the three and a half years in office seem to have been only ninety-eight pounds.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Luttrell, *op. cit.*, IV, 220.

<sup>2</sup> The Commission for Hawkers and Pedlars was composed of only four persons. The Declared Accounts begin with the year 1697-98. Neither Congreve nor Blake is listed as a commissioner.

<sup>3</sup> The warrant for letters patent to William Congreve as customer at Poole to succeed John Sansom is dated July 3, 1700 (see the Treasury Out Letters—Customs and Excise, T. 11. 14, p. 86; for the enrolment, made on August 1, 1700, see Patent Roll No. 3416, 12 William III, Part III, No. 6). Upon the death of William III, the appointment was renewed (see the Treasury Minute Book, T. 29. 13, p. 191, and Patent Roll No. 3425, 1 Anne, Part II, No. 38). On December 31, 1703, were enrolled the letters patent constituting William Swanton customer in place of Congreve (see Patent Roll No. 3438, 2 Anne, Part I, No. 20).

<sup>4</sup> See the Quarterly Treasury Accounts, General, T. 31. 1, p. 73, and reports for other quarters during the tenure of office.

<sup>5</sup> Customs Establishment, Customs 18. 61, under "Poole": "George Savile Collector To Act as Deputy Customer To have £20 ann from him [i.e., from the Customer, Congreve] to Account for the Fees to the Principall." Other entries show that this payment of £20 to the deputy was regular.

<sup>6</sup> This sum is estimated from the annual net salary of £28. The "Fees" mentioned in the preceding note I interpret to mean only the duties collected for the government. It should be added that the General Treasury Accounts (T. 31. 11, p. 69) for the first quarter of 1704, after Congreve had lost the office in the preceding December, make record of a payment to him of £12 10s. 6d. The reason for the payment is not indicated.



When Congreve relinquished his first commission in December, 1705, he was at once appointed one of the five

Commissioners and Agents for granting Licences for Selling and Offering by Retail, all and every or any kind of Wine or Wines whatsoever in any City, Town, or place within the Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales and Town of Berwick upon Tweed, being appointed to ye said Office by Letters Patents under the Greate Seale of England bearing date the XXVIth day of December in the fourth year of the Reigne of Her Majestie Queen Anne 1705 . . . . during Her Majestys pleasure. . . . And to Each of them a yearly Salary of Two hundred pounds to Commence from the date of the said Letters Patents . . . . paid quarterly . . . . together with the usuall Fees and Profits belonging to the said Office. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Additional salaries were provided for ten assistants, who no doubt relieved the patentees of the work of the office, if not of the responsibility.<sup>2</sup> Upon the return of the Tories to power in 1710 Congreve, a Whig, was in danger of losing his position. Three of his colleagues were replaced,<sup>3</sup> but he was continued, largely through the good offices of his old friend Swift,<sup>4</sup> until his powerful Whig patrons were in a position, in the latter part of 1714, to substitute for his commissioner-ship a more lucrative position as secretary to Jamaica. During his nine full years as wine licenser his salary amounted to a total of eighteen hundred pounds.

About a month before Congreve was promoted to the secretaryship of Jamaica he was given a very minor post as one of the five under-searchers of the customs in the port of London. The warrant for the letters patent was issued November 3, 1714,<sup>5</sup> and Congreve remained in office until his death a little over fourteen years later.<sup>6</sup> This posi-

<sup>1</sup> See the Declared Accounts for the two years ending at Christmas, 1707. The "Fees and Profits belonging to the said Office" may have added materially to the income of the commissioners, but the phrase may also have been inserted in the commission as a mere formality.

<sup>2</sup> See the Treasury Registers, T. 47. 1, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See the Declared Accounts for the two years ending at Christmas, 1713; also, Congreve's letter of May 6, 1712, in *The Complete Works of William Congreve* (ed. Montague Summers; London, 1923), I, 91.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Journal to Stella*, June 22, 30, July 2, 1711; December 27, 1712.

<sup>5</sup> See the Treasury Out Letters—Customs and Excise, T. 11. 16, p. 167.

<sup>6</sup> *The Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, 1729-1730* (London, 1897), p. 296, quotes a warrant dated January 21, 1728[-29], "For the preparation of letters patent to constitute Wm. Popple, Esq. one of the five under searchers in London port, *vice* Wm. Congreve, lately deceased." On p. 190 there is an authorization, dated March 18, 1728 [-29], "For payment of 12 £ per annum salary to Wm. Popple, Esq., constituted by letters patent one of the five under searchers in the port of London."



tion was apparently the one to which Southerne referred as "a Patent place in the Customs of 600 Pds per ann." The Public Records, however, seem to show conclusively that the yearly salary was only twelve pounds, or a total of about one hundred and sixty-eight pounds for the whole term in office.<sup>1</sup>

Congreve's commission as secretary of Jamaica, signed December 14, 1714, specified the official duties as those of "Steward General" of "Provisions and Stores" and "Clerk of the Enrollments for the Enrolling and Registering all Deeds and Conveyances" and "all bills of sale & Letters Patents or other Acts or matters usually Enrolled."<sup>2</sup> The commission provided no salary for the secretary, but assigned to him "all Fees, Profits, Privileges, Perquisites and Advantages," half of which would be retained by his deputy in Jamaica as payment for the actual work of administering the office.<sup>3</sup> The appointment was made on one condition: "Provided always, and we do hereby direct and Command him the said Wm. Congreve to Transport himself to the said Island by the first Opportunity, and from his said Arrival there to reside upon Our said Island, and not to be absent from thence with-

<sup>1</sup> The Public Records show repeatedly that the salary for an undersearcher of the customs was only £12 annually. The salary is stated very precisely in a special report (T. 42. 2) made by the Commissioners of the Customs entitled "A List of all the Officers Employed in the Customs with the Salaries and Allowances they Respectively receive, distinguishing therein such as are paid out of Incidents from those that are placed upon the Establishment or paid by Dormant Warrant as they stood at Michaelmas 1717." The commissioners received yearly salaries of £1,000, the chief searcher £120, and the undersearchers £12 each. On p. 17 of the report Congreve is listed as one of the undersearchers with a yearly salary of £12 paid by dormant warrant, *with no annual allowance by incidents*. Each of the undersearchers was allowed a deputy at £60 annually. This difference in salary in favor of the deputy may be explained as a necessary living wage for the man giving his full time to the work, whereas the position as undersearcher was only a minor sinecure. The great difference, however, is remarkable; and it is possible, in spite of the seemingly clear evidence in the Records, that the undersearchers had an income not indicated. In a letter dated September 1, 1717, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu speaks of Congreve as "enjoying leisure with dignity in two lucrative employments" (*The Works of Alexander Pope* [ed. Elwin and Courthope; 10 vols.; London, 1871-89], IX, 388). One of these employments was evidently the secretaryship of Jamaica, but the other could hardly have been the place in the customs, unless it actually paid more than it apparently did. These two offices seem to have been the only ones held by Congreve after 1714. Lady Mary, however, possibly thought that Congreve was still commissioner for wine licenses.

Soon after his appointment as undersearcher Congreve selected Joshua White as his deputy, and on November 23, 1714, both Congreve and White were authorized to take the oath of office (see the Treasury Out Letters—Customs and Excise, T. 11. 16, p. 171).

<sup>2</sup> A copy of the commission, filling three closely written pages, is preserved in the Original Correspondence of the Board of Trade, C.O. 137. 12, No. 69.

<sup>3</sup> The commission makes no reference to the sharing of the fees, but the arrangement is made clear in later instructions from the Board of Trade, as shown in the Entry Books of the Commissioners, C.O. 138. 16, pp. 380-82.

out our Royal License. . . ." In spite of this strict command, we need not suppose that Congreve ever made a voyage to Jamaica. Under normal conditions he apparently had only to name his deputy and to give his receipt in London for half of the profits. Had he been more fortunate in the selection of his deputy, Congreve would have saved himself some annoyance; but we should lack specific evidence for the income from his office and one of his few preserved letters—one that has hitherto been hidden away and overlooked in the files of the Public Records Office.

Upon coming into office Congreve named as his deputy Samuel Page, with Peter Beckford as substitute. When these nominations came before the governor, Archibald Hamilton, they were protested on the grounds that Beckford had often opposed the Governor in the Jamaica Assembly and Page was "only a Toole" of Beckford.<sup>1</sup> These objections, however, were overruled by the Board of Trade,<sup>2</sup> and Page was installed in office. After a few months the Council of Jamaica, evidently dominated by the Governor, removed Page from the office of clerk of the council on the charge of incapacity.<sup>3</sup> Almost immediately the Assembly, in a committee report made by Beckford, commended Page for his "great exactness" and general efficiency.<sup>4</sup> The growing hostility between Governor and Assembly culminated the following month with Page's secret departure for London as a representative from the Assembly to lay before the Board of Trade charges that Hamilton was conspiring with the Spaniards.<sup>5</sup> Hamilton was arrested and brought to England. After months of delay, on September 26, 1717, he sent to the Board a long memorial in which he cited the bad character of Page and requested his dismissal from his post as deputy to the secretary of Jamaica. A week later the Board "ordered that a letter be writ to Mr. Congreve, Secretary of Jamaica, acquainting him with their lordships desire to speak with

<sup>1</sup> See the letter of the Governor to the Board of Trade in the Original Correspondence, C.O. 137. 10, No. 79.

<sup>2</sup> See Hamilton's "Memorial" in the Original Correspondence of the Secretary of State, C.O. 137.46, fols. 128-40.

<sup>3</sup> Original Correspondence of the Board of Trade under date of October 10, 1717. Page was removed February 3, 1716.

<sup>4</sup> *Journals of the Assembly of Jamaica* (Jamaica, 1795), II, 195. The report was made on February 9, 1716.

<sup>5</sup> See Hamilton's "Memorial," *at supra*.

him on Wednesday next, upon several complaints that have been made to them against Mr. Page, his deputy."<sup>1</sup> Congreve replied to the secretary of the Board with the following letter:

ASHLEY October ye 5th. 1717

Sr.

After a Fitt of Illness of two Month's continuance, I am but just gott into ye Country for the recovery of my health, and am altogether unable to wait upon the Lords Comrs. as you signify to me they desire I should doe.

I beg ye favour of you to acquaint them of this from me with all due respects to their Lps.

And if you please you may also intimate to their Lps. that I have already given Satisfaction to both the Principal Secretaries of State in what relates to me concerning Mr. Page. I am,

Sr.

Yr most humble servt.

WM CONGREVE<sup>2</sup>

On January 9, 1718, the Privy Council ordered "that the said Samuel Page Deputy Secretary of the Said Island of Jamaica be forthwith removed from the Said Office and from all other Offices of trust whatsoever in the said Island."<sup>3</sup>

When Page was on his way to London in March, 1716, he wrote to Governor Hamilton, naming Avery Wagstaffe or Peter Beckford to serve as deputy in his absence.<sup>4</sup> The Governor very naturally disregarded the wishes of his archenemy, and appointed his secretary, William Cockburn, to fill the vacancy.<sup>5</sup> Five months later, after Hamilton had been replaced by a new governor, Cockburn was dismissed, and Beckford, acting as Congreve's lawyer,<sup>6</sup> demanded a full accounting of the profits of the office. According to Cockburn's reckoning, the total income amounted to £595:3:10, half of which he was willing to relinquish as the share of the secretary; but Beckford de-

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations from March 1714/15 to October 1718* (London, 1924), p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> The original letter, which I think is now printed for the first time, is preserved in the Original Correspondence for Jamaica, C.O. 137. 12, No. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Original Correspondence of the Secretary of State, C.O. 137. 46, fol. 143.

<sup>4</sup> The letter is preserved in the Original Correspondence of the Board of Trade, C.O., 137. 12. Wagstaffe is mentioned and the Page-Hamilton controversy is discussed from the point of view of Hamilton in an anonymous poem entitled *The Politics and Patriots of Jamaica* (London, 1718).

<sup>5</sup> The facts regarding Cockburn's experiences as deputy are taken from "The Humble Petition of William Cockburn Esqr.," which was referred to the Board of Trade in November, 1717. See the Original Correspondence of the Board of Trade, 0:180.

<sup>6</sup> It is not clear whether Congreve was aware of the steps taken by his attorney.

manded the whole of the proceeds in the name of the rightful deputy and won his suit against Cockburn for £641:5:8 (evidently the lawyer's estimate of the total income) as well as £31:7:6 to cover the cost of the suit. On the basis of Beckford's figures, which are probably correct in view of the decision of the court, Congreve's yearly income as secretary of Jamaica must have been about £780,<sup>1</sup> which would have made a total of practically £11,000 for the period of slightly more than fourteen years during which he held the office.

The original commission had made Congreve secretary of Jamaica only during the pleasure of the King. On May 15, 1718, the appointment was renewed for life.<sup>2</sup> Apparently the remainder of Congreve's tenure of the office was uneventful.<sup>3</sup>

Of Congreve's post in the "Pipe Office," which Thackeray found so amusing, I have been able to discover no record; and Congreve certainly did not serve as one of the Commissioners for Licensing Hawkers and Pedlars. The Public Records show that during the last thirty-four years of his life he was constantly in the pay of the government; but of the five offices which he held, no more than two at any one time, only one was really lucrative. Roughly speaking, Congreve had an annual government income of £100 from 1695 until 1700, £125 for the next five years, £200 for the next nine years, and £800 for the last fourteen years. He did not enjoy political sinecures to the extent that even his most conservative biographers have supposed. Swift was literally correct when he wrote,

Thus Congreve spent in writing plays,<sup>4</sup>  
And one poor office, half his days.

But however greatly Congreve's wealth has been exaggerated, it is true that for a long period Congreve was an officeholder, and that

<sup>1</sup> Cockburn administered the office from March 9 to August 6, 1716.

<sup>2</sup> See Patent Roll No. 3525, 4 George I, Part V, No. 6.

<sup>3</sup> In August, 1719, the Duke of Newcastle attempted to make one of his followers deputy to Congreve on the assumption that the incumbent had recently died. Congreve replied that his deputy was not dead, but one deputed by his deputy, who was then in England preparing to return to Jamaica (see *The Works of William Congreve* [ed. Summers], I, 96). The death of the substitute deputy, Mr. Daniel, was mentioned in a letter from the Governor of Jamaica dated April 28, 1719 (see the Entry Books of the Commissioners, C.O. 138. 16, p. 218).

<sup>4</sup> "A Libel on the Reverend Dr. Delany, and His Excellency John, Lord Carteret" (1729). The poem is printed in *The Poems of Jonathan Swift, D.D.* (ed. W. E. Browning; London, 1910), I, 321.

his income from that source was very considerable during his latter years. The questions of prime interest to students of English literature are these: How were Congreve's political activities connected with his literary work? How did these activities affect that work? The offices were conferred partly, no doubt, because the politicians felt that a man of Congreve's literary ability was an asset to the party. As to the effect on the dramatist's work, I believe that it was deleterious. It will be recalled that Congreve did no very important writing after he was thirty, when he completed his fifth and possibly his greatest play. Ill health, the attacks of Jeremy Collier, the lukewarm reception of the play by the audience—all these had a part in Congreve's virtual retirement after 1700. I feel, however, that some prominence should be given to the political sinecures as a reason for this decreasing productivity. It is interesting to note that Congreve's literary effort varied in inverse proportion to his governmental aid. From 1693 to 1695, before he had received any help from that source, he produced three plays—one a year; from 1695 to 1700, while holding one unimportant sinecure, he brought out two plays—less than an average of one in two years; from 1700 to 1714, with a fair income from political offices, he wrote two masques and collaborated in the production of one play—an average of one minor dramatic work in four or five years; and after 1714, while he was financially independent on account of the larger income from the secretaryship, his literary record was practically a blank. With a less comfortable berth than that provided by the government, Congreve might well have found it advisable to supplement his income and not stop writing at the very zenith of his power.

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GOETHE'S *EGMONT* AS A POSSIBLE SOURCE  
OF HUGO'S *HERNANI*

IT HAS been suggested that Victor Hugo was influenced by Scott's *Kenilworth* when he wrote *Hernani*.<sup>1</sup> Although Hugo's *Amy Robsart*, based directly on the English novel, was still doubtless fresh in the French dramatist's mind, the fact that other resemblances besides those occurring in *Kenilworth* appear in *Hernani* is almost conclusive proof that Hugo went immediately to *Egmont* for his inspiration. Goethe himself was aware that chapter vii of *Kenilworth*, where Earl Leicester visits Amy Robsart secretly, was nothing less than a clever adaptation of the meeting between Klärchen and Egmont in Act III of his drama *Egmont*, and he had only words of praise for Scott's artistry. According to a promise made to Amy, the English lord comes dressed in the costume of the Order of the Golden Fleece and explains to Amy the meaning of the emblems. Like Klärchen, Amy is lost in admiration; and Leicester, like Egmont, wishes he might forget the cares of state to live only for his beloved.

The French Romanticists were great admirers of Goethe, and Louis Morel has shown that Hugo remembered Mignon when he created his Esmeralda in *Notre Dame de Paris*;<sup>2</sup> yet it does not seem to be generally known that Hugo's *Hernani* is also indebted to the same German poet.

*Hernani's Stammbaum*,<sup>3</sup> a very careful study by Dr. R. Frick, attempting to run down every possible source of Victor Hugo's play, mentions Goethe only incidentally and *Egmont* not at all. The influence of Byron, Schiller, and Spanish literature are treated in separate chapters, and it is made to appear highly plausible that Karl Moor of Schiller's *Räuber* had a prominent part in ennobling and idealizing *Hernani's* character,<sup>4</sup> although he owed his inception to the

<sup>1</sup> C. H. Conrad Wright, *A History of French Literature* (New York, 1912), p. 700.

<sup>2</sup> Louis Morel, "*Wilhelm Meister*" en France, "Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte" (Berlin, 1909), IX, 74.

<sup>3</sup> Published in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte* (Berlin, 1909), XVII, 239-61, 385-413.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 254 ff.; also p. 411.

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robber in Calderon's *Luis Perez el Gallego*.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Frick quotes Hugo as saying: "Je ne connais pas Göthe, mais j'ai lu Schiller. C'est la même chose."<sup>2</sup> This very statement should make us suspicious, for, like Voltaire, Victor Hugo sometimes borrowed without giving credit, and had undoubtedly read Goethe by the time he wrote *Hernani*. As the German critic points out, Hugo got many details of the action from two Spanish plays, *Del rey abajo, ninguno* by Francisco de Rojas and *El Tejedor de Segovia* by Alarcón, and Doña Sol Frick considers a glorified synthesis of the heroines of these two comedias.<sup>3</sup> But nowhere does Hugo give these poets credit. "Nicht der romance-ro also, auf den V. Hugo selbst hinweist, ist der Schlüssel zu seinem Drama *Hernani*, sondern die spanische comedia. Aber sie ist es nicht allein."<sup>4</sup> Still he does not regard Hugo as a plagiarist in the technical sense, but rather as a man who decks out his dramatic figures in strange clothes that he has pieced together. Hugo's dramatic technique he compares to that poet's boyhood mania for taking old furniture apart and putting it together again in new combinations.<sup>5</sup>

Fernand Baldensperger, in his comprehensive study of Goethe's influence on French literature, states that the French Romanticists admired this German poet more than they understood him, and that their borrowings were for the most part episodic in character. After discussing Goethe's lyric influence on French romantic tragedy he adds: "Ailleurs, ce sont des emprunts de détail, un motif, une situation, qui ont passé, du théâtre de Goethe, dans le drame romantique."<sup>6</sup> The influence of *Egmont* on *Hernani* is dismissed with the single sentence: "L'exclamation de Doña Sol dans *Hernani*, déjà perceptible dans *Amy Robsart*: 'Que sur ce velours noir ce collier d'or fait bien,' reproduit une naïveté de Claire dans *Egmont*: 'Ah! le velours est trop magnifique. ...' "<sup>7</sup>

With the exception of this one reference of Baldensperger's, the present writer has not found any study tracing directly the influence of *Egmont* on *Hernani*, although it seems that the resemblances between the two plays should be apparent to any student of Goethe when reading *Hernani*.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 394 ff.; also p. 410.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 387-94.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 412-13.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 250.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 411.

<sup>6</sup> *Goethe en France* (2d ed.; Paris, 1920), p. 106.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 106. This same quotation is given in Baldensperger's *Bibliographie critique de Goethe en France* (Paris, 1907), p. 72.



The most striking parallel is found in the scene between Hernani and Doña Sol after the wedding (Act V, scene iii) and the visit of Egmont to Klärchen's home (Act III). In this scene between the lovers, Egmont explains to Klärchen that he has a dual personality:

Jener Egmont ist ein verdriesslicher, steifer, kalter Egmont, der an sich halten, bald dieses, bald jenes Gesicht machen muss; geplagt, verkannt, verwickelt ist, wenn ihn die Leute für froh und fröhlich halten. . . . Aber dieser, Klärchen, der ist ruhig, offen, glücklich, geliebt und gekannt von dem besten Herzen, das auch er ganz kennt und mit voller Liebe und Zutrauen an das seine drückt. Das ist dein Egmont!<sup>1</sup>

Hernani also has led a dual existence, having been a melancholy bandit swearing vengeance against the king, and a tender lover sighing for Doña Sol. Now after the wedding he would forget the name of Hernani, that reminds him of the past, and be only Jean d'Aragon living for his young bride (ll. 1938-41):

Qu'on nous laisse tous deux, et le reste est passé!  
Je n'ai rien vu, rien dit, rien fait. Je recommence,  
J'efface tout, j'oublie! Ou sagesse ou démente,  
Je vous ai, je vous aime, et vous êtes mon bien!

Earlier he had declared that when uncrossed in his love for Doña Sol, he easily forgot his thoughts of vengeance against the king (ll. 571-77; also l. 1760).

It may be remarked in passing that both heroes have demoniac natures which make them the victims of tragic fates. Egmont's strong individuality causes him to be careless of danger, to trust the king, and to await Alba in spite of the warnings of his friends. Hernani's indecision and capricious behavior at crucial moments make him miss earlier his opportunities for vengeance against Don Carlos, while his stubborn insistence in Act IV, scene iii, puts him irrevocably at the mercy of the old Duke.

Klärchen is awed by the fact that her lover belongs to the Order of the Golden Fleece. She admires his fine garments, and the golden necklace that the Emperor had hung about his neck.

KLÄRCHEN. O, du dürftest die ganze Welt über dich richten lassen.—  
Der Sammet ist gar zu herrlich, und die Passementarbeit! und das Gestickte!  
—Man weiss nicht, wo man anfangen soll.

EGMONT. Sieh dich nur satt.

<sup>1</sup> *Goethes Sämtliche Werke* (Jubiläumsausgabe), XI, 290.

KLÄRCHEN. Und das goldne Vliess! Ihr erzählet mir die Geschichte und sagtet, es sei ein Zeichen alles Grossen und Kostbaren, was man mit Müh und Fleiss verdient und erwirbt. Es ist sehr kostbar—Ich kann's deiner Liebe vergleichen—ich trage sie ebenso am Herzen—und hernach—

EGMONT. Was willst du sagen?

KLÄRCHEN. Hernach vergleicht sich's auch wieder nicht.<sup>1</sup>

Compare with this the dialogue between Doña Sol and Hernani (ll. 1942-47):

DOÑA SOL (*examinant sa toison d'or*). Que sur ce velours noir ce collier d'or fait bien!

HERNANI. Vous vîtes avant moi le roi mis de la sorte.

DOÑA SOL. Je n'ai pas remarqué. Tout autre, que m'importe?

Puis, est-ce le velours ou le satin encor?

Non, mon duc, c'est ton cou qui sied au collier d'or.

Vous êtes noble et fier, monseigneur.

Some time before this when Don Carlos had pardoned Hernani for his conspiracy and had renounced all claims to Doña Sol, he had conferred upon him this order of knighthood and placed around his neck his own golden necklace with these words (ll. 1776-79):

Mais tu l'as, le plus doux et le plus beau collier,  
Celui que je n'ai pas, qui manque au rang suprême,  
Les deux bras d'une femme aimée et qui vous aime!  
Ah! tu vas être heureux; moi, je suis empereur.

Thus Don Carlos boldly makes the comparison the converse of which Klärchen had so timidly suggested. Incidentally, it may be noted that just as Klärchen implies that Egmont's love is something infinitely more precious than the Golden Fleece, so Doña Sol declares that it is the wearer of the golden necklace that enhances its appearance and really gives it value.

In this same scene Klärchen, indescribably happy as Egmont takes her into his arms, exclaims: "So lass mich sterben! Die Welt hat keine Freuden auf diese!"<sup>2</sup> Likewise Doña Sol in the ecstasy of love on that beautiful, moonlit night, would like to die out of sheer happiness (ll. 1961-62):

Je me sentais joyeuse et calme, ô mon amant,  
Et j'aurais bien voulu mourir en ce moment!

<sup>1</sup> *Jubilumsausgabe*, XI, 288.

<sup>2</sup> Act III, end.

This same conception of supreme felicity had been expressed earlier by *Hernani* (ll. 1028-29):

Oh! l'amour serait un bien suprême  
Si l'on pouvait mourir de trop aimer!

According to him, "le bonheur ... est chose grave ... Son sourire est moins près du rire que des pleurs" (ll. 1899-1902). This view of happiness so prevalent in French Romanticism we thus find anticipated in Goethe's *Egmont*, which had its inception in the days of *Sturm und Drang*.

Another trace of the influence of *Egmont* on *Hernani* might be seen in the long monologue of Don Carlos (Act IV, scene ii), where the young king tells of the double-pointed pyramid tossed about by the living waves of people (ll. 1529-38):

Base de nations, portant sur leurs épaules  
La pyramide énorme appuyée aux deux pôles,  
Flots vivants, qui toujours l'étreignant de leurs plis,  
La balancent, branlante, à leur vaste roulis,  
Font tout changer de place et, sur ses hautes zones,  
Comme des escabeaux font chanceler les trônes,  
Si bien que tous les rois, cessant leurs vains débats,  
Lèvent les yeux au ciel ... Rois! regardez en bas!  
Ah! le peuple!—océan!—onde sans cesse émue!  
Où l'on ne jette rien sans que tout ne remue!

In *Egmont*, the regent, Margarete von Parma, who is having a difficult time ruling the Dutch provinces, exclaims in a moment of discouragement: "O, was sind wir Grossen auf der Woge der Menschheit? Wir glauben sie zu beherrschen, und sie treibt uns auf und nieder, hin und her."<sup>1</sup> In the fertile imagination of Victor Hugo, this simple statement could easily have been elaborated into the graphic picture just quoted.<sup>2</sup>

The catastrophes of the two plays also have marked similarities. Klärchen, crushed by the thought that *Egmont* is to be executed the next morning, takes her own life by drinking poison, in order that she may be ready to meet her lover in the other world. This vial of poison she had taken from her rejected suitor, Brackenburg, who had threatened to take his own life. This disconsolate lover begs her to

<sup>1</sup> *Jubiläumsausgabe*, XI, 245.

<sup>2</sup> "Seine Phantasie ist einem Hohlspiegel vergleichbar, der die Bilder verzerrt und oft auch ins Grossartige, Kolossale gesteigert zurückwirft," says Dr. Frick (*op. cit.*, p. 412).

let him die with her, but she urges him to live for her mother and his country.<sup>1</sup> After drinking, however, she hands the rest of the poison to Brackenbush, but the unhappy man, rebuffed by Klärchen even as she prepares to die, finds that earth, heaven, and hell offer him equal torment, and would prefer complete annihilation. He envies Egmont who is soon to be reunited with Klärchen: "O Egmont, welch preiswürdig Los fällt dir! Sie geht voran, der Kranz des Siegs aus ihrer Hand ist dein, sie bringt den ganzen Himmel dir entgegen!"<sup>2</sup>

When Doña Sol finds the old Duke inexorable in his vengeance, she snatches the vial from Hernani's hand, swallows half the poison and asks Hernani to drink the remainder. This he does as Doña Sol begins to suffer intensely, and presently the two lovers are seen dying in each other's embrace. Don Ruy Gomez, always violently in love with Doña Sol, and cheated of his vengeance even in their death cries, "O douleur!" (l. 2154); and as Doña Sol dies, murmuring, "C'est notre nuit de noce," he pronounces upon himself the verdict, "Oh! je suis damné," and takes his own life. The significant thing in the endings of the two plays is not so much the manner in which the lovers die, similar though it is, but the fact that their union in death overwhelms the rejected suitor in each case and makes his lot intolerable.

In marked contrast to the dénouement in *Egmont* and *Hernani* is that of *Kenilworth*. The two lovers not only do not die together, but Leicester ruthlessly sacrifices Amy to his political ambitions. To Hernani, as to Egmont, love is the *summum bonum*; in the self-seeking career of the Earl of Leicester it is a mere incident. At the news of Amy's murder, the Earl, for a period, is stricken with remorse. But so far from considering death as a means of escape for himself, he shortly returns to his rôle of favorite in the court of Queen Elizabeth. The unsuccessful lover, Edmund Tressilian, accepts Amy's death stoically, as he had accepted her earlier defection, though his whole life is ruined.

The cumulative evidence of resemblances of detail found in *Hernani* seems sufficient to establish Victor Hugo's direct debt to Goethe's *Egmont*. Joined to this are the parallel statements of Klärchen and Doña Sol when each expresses her admiration for the

<sup>1</sup> *Jubiläumsausgabe*, XI, 324.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325.

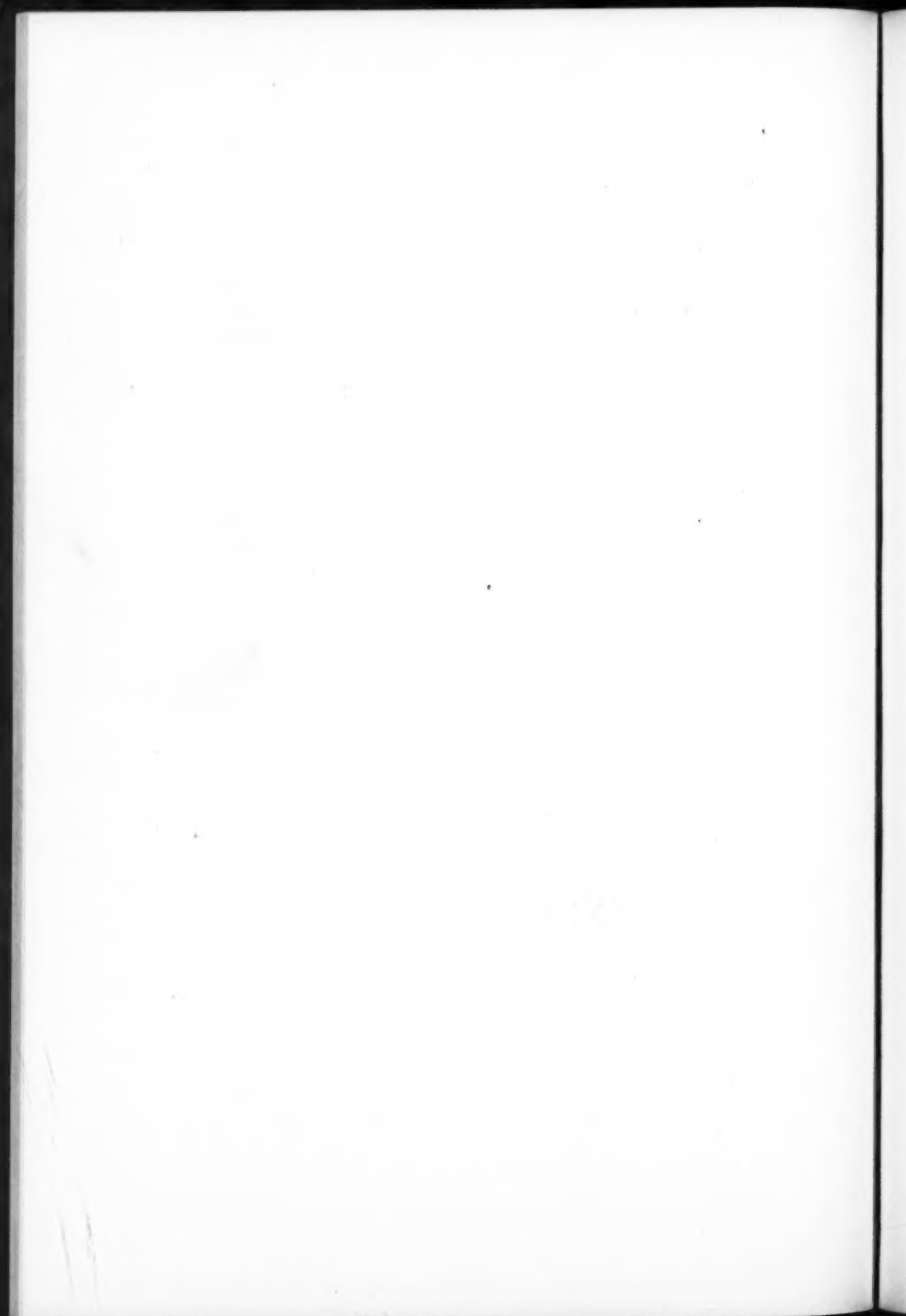
velvet collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece. This one exclamation Baldensperger cites as traceable to *Egmont*, but "already perceptible in *Amy Robsart*." However, the Golden Fleece scene as adapted by Scott is considerably different from the original version in *Egmont*, and Hugo translates the Scott scene almost literally in his play based on the English novel. Scott's Amy had asked the meaning of her lover's "fair collar, so richly wrought," and Hugo's Amy likewise asks simply: "Et qu'est-ce que ce beau collier, si richement travaillé ... ?"<sup>1</sup> But the exclamation of joy is made—and in almost identical phraseology—only by Klärchen and by Doña Sol.

Granting this indebtedness, Hugo's genius, of course, is in no wise minimized. Hernani, who suffers from the *mal du siècle*, is a far remove from the usually optimistic Egmont; and Doña Sol, with all the pride of Castilian ancestry, moves on a wholly different plane from the simple, bourgeois Klärchen.

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<sup>1</sup> Act I, scene vii.



## SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE AT MALTA<sup>1</sup>

MUCH of Coleridge's activity at Malta in the years 1804, 1805, and 1806 has been merely conjectured by his biographers; but by means of a series of unpublished letters placed at my disposal through the kindness of the Coleridge family,<sup>2</sup> I am enabled to give a much fuller picture of his stay there.

By the year 1801, Coleridge found his health so poor and his mental condition, aggravated by an increasing use of opium, so depressing to himself and to his friends, that he determined to try another climate, temporarily, perhaps permanently.<sup>3</sup> Lack of money, however, and an unwillingness to leave to Mrs. Coleridge the care of their very young children delayed his plan; but by the beginning of 1804 he had finally determined on Malta as a satisfactory residence, chiefly because Stoddart had invited him to come there.<sup>4</sup> February found him in London using every effort with John Rickman and William Sotheby, his friends, to procure passage for him, if possible in one of His Majesty's frigates. By March 13, 1804, he had engaged passage in the "Speedwell," a merchantman under the command of Captain John Findley. Coleridge was to leave with the good wishes of most of his friends. Sir George Beaumont, the patron of Wordsworth, Davy, and others, after meeting with an emphatic refusal of the offer of money, sent Coleridge £100, inclosed in a final letter.

It would have affected you deeply to have seen the manner in which Sir George parted from me. His valet packed up everything, sent off everything

<sup>1</sup> This article is one of a series of biographical studies made from a group of six or seven hundred unpublished letters placed at my disposal.

<sup>2</sup> These letters are taken from a considerable number of MSS gathered and transcribed by E. H. Coleridge, in preparing his *Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* in 1895. In my proposed edition of Coleridge's unpublished correspondence, I shall carefully collate transcripts with originals, whenever the latter are available.

<sup>3</sup> "I am determined to go to the Azores in the very first vessel, & winter there, if I could get the moneys [sic] necessary for me to go with, & for my wife & Babes to be left behind with." From an unpublished letter to Thomas Poole in the MSS Room of the British Museum.

<sup>4</sup> "Madeira is the better place; but Stoddart is gone to Malta with a wife, with a place of £1500 a year, and has given me a very kind invitation" (unpublished letter to Southey, August 14, 1803). With Stoddart, Coleridge remained only a short time, and the fact that he is never mentioned in Coleridge's later letters seems to indicate a misunderstanding. Stoddart was King's Advocate at Malta; his sister became Hazlitt's wife.



and did not leave till I entered the mail. He stocked me in wines in stout bottles and lock up cases, with medicine, portable soup and [an] elegant thing to lock up my letters, papers etc etc and when I was at Dunmow Sir George thrice entreated me to accept of an £100, the which I mildly but firmly refused—but on the morning I left Dunmow as I was going into the coach the servant delivered me a letter from Sir George with the £100 enclosed in it, and the Letter itself for its delicacy, deliberate affection, and elevated good sense "was worth twice the sum."<sup>1</sup>

Charles Lamb, who must have been amused at Coleridge's numerous complaints about faulty pens, procured a gift from his employers; "The East India House," Coleridge writes, "has very kindly made me a present through Mr. Charles Lamb, an *Eminent* in the India service [,] of a hundred pens," and with a touch of humor adds:

and if the House of Commons would do the same with a stick or two of wax, in short any little additament that might be made instrumental in the service of Great Britain by spreading and increasing its literary action on the world I should consider as a flattering mark of respect from that Honorable assembly—and should prize it considerably more than even a vote of thanks and recommendation for a title, unless a good warm salary or estate were the gilt lace to my coat of arms.<sup>2</sup>

Coleridge hoped to have all of Wordsworth's poems with him. To Dorothy and Mary he writes:

But Oh! I conjure you, my dearest Dorothy and Mary! as you love me, as you value my utilities when absent from you to set about making a copy of all William's MS. poems. I solemnly promise that no English eye shall behold a line of them, either before or after my Sicilian [Maltese] tour.<sup>3</sup>

It will not be out of place here to remark that Coleridge's condition was as much mental as physical. Though he had made every effort to adjust himself to Mrs. Coleridge, and had shown himself particularly kind at the time of Sara's birth in 1802,<sup>4</sup> he found domestic life intolerable. His wife, as he frequently wrote to her and to others, he respected as the mother of his children,<sup>5</sup> but incompatibility

<sup>1</sup> From an unpublished letter to Southey, dated March 28, 1804. Henceforth in this paper, if no mention of the source of a quotation is made, it is from unpublished MSS.

<sup>2</sup> A letter to Rickman dated March 14, 1804.

<sup>3</sup> From a letter to Wordsworth, February 16, 1804.

<sup>4</sup> James Dykes Campbell, *Samuel Taylor Coleridge, A Narrative of the Events of His Life* (London, 1894), pp. 130, 131.

<sup>5</sup> "My dear Sara! the mother, the attentive and excellent mother of my children must needs be always more than the word friend can express when applied to a woman" (E. H. Coleridge *Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* [London, 1895], II, 469).

of temperament had alienated her from him, despite his efforts. He writes to her on January 24, 1804:

MY DEAR SARA

Believe me, hourly thro' the day I am planning or praying for your comfort and peace: nor is it possible that any name can be more awfully affecting, or sink into my heart, and my heart's heart, with a greater weight of duty, than that of the virtuous mother of my children. We will try hard, my dearest Friend: that the severest Judge shall be able to detect no other evil in us, than the—misfortune, I trust rather than the evil—of being unsuited to each other.

Typical of many letters during his stay at Malta is his letter of March 12, 1804, written to Southey from London, before his departure for Malta:

At day I can do well enough; but at night my children and other things and thoughts lie hard and heavy upon me, and when they chance to combine with rain and damp affect me wildly. Only last night I had a long hysterical weeping in my pillow. . . . It is not *cold* that hurts me. . . . It is *damp* without and anxiety and agitation within that cause my disease . . . and I am resolved to be tranquil.

The voyage to Malta, begun April 25 and concluded May 18, has been often described; suffice to say here that Coleridge suffered from typical seasickness during much of the voyage, and that it was with relief that he arrived at his destination. His health was temporarily improved; but mental anguish soon rendered useless the more beneficent climate.

Of Coleridge's activities in Malta we know very little; but his unpublished letters give a fuller idea of his connection with Sir Alexander Ball, a hero of the Battle of the Nile and at this time civil governor of Malta, the key position to Britain's power in the Mediterranean. As early as March 13, 1804, Coleridge had in mind a post at Malta.

It has at times been a wandering wish of mine (and I should perhaps have indulged it but for my entire and utter want of Interest) to get some small place in Malta or Sicily. I did not care if it occupied half my time—for I have no wish to receive what I have not earned—a place, of course, for the performance of the Duties of which austere integrity and general information and sanity of mind were the chief Requisites. If I should see any opening, when abroad, I shall not be prevented from engaging your good offices in my Behalf, by my too deeply rooted dislike to call upon any man for any effort, still more, on one on whom I have no other claims than those derived from his own Benevolence. Mackintosh put this into my head, by saying to

me that he thought, that if I had any sort of interest with the Governor of Malta I might probably without difficulty gain some little place or other that would at least liquidate my travelling expenses or rather voyaging expenses.<sup>1</sup>

By July 5, 1804, Coleridge was in the unofficial employ of Sir Alexander Ball and well pleased with his situation.<sup>2</sup> The following letter to Sotheby, dated Malta, July 5, 1804, is of sufficient interest to be printed in full:

MY DEAR SIR

I hope that Mr. Laing who returns to England with young Ball, will find you out. Mr. L. is a truly amiable, well-informed young clergyman who has in fact been Sir Alexander's Secretary as well as Tutor of his son. From him you will hear everything of Malta—and as soon as I get to Sicily I shall write to you. Your Letters to Sir A. B. and General Valette<sup>3</sup> produced every effect that Letters could possibly do—my extreme low spirits and langour have prevented me from hitherto cultivating the general's acquaintance as much as I ought and wished to have done—for he was very attentive and polite, and I have no doubt would do anything to serve a man so introduced by you. I have hitherto lived with Dr. Stoddart, but tomorrow shall take up my residence at the Palace, in a suite of delightfully cool and commanding Rooms which Sir Alexander was so kind as not merely to offer me but to make me feel that he wished me to accept the offer.

I have been writing for him to the last moment—an excuse for this brief scrawl than which there might be a hundred worse I am sure, in your opinion. I had from Gibraltar to Malta a most distressful passage of almost continual illness, and at one time I expected to die—and God be praised that time was far enough from the most unhappy, I have lately passed. Since my arrival I have never had those sharp illnesses, I used to have in England, and since I have revolutionised my system, that is to say, forced myself to eat my meals and to take a few glasses of Port wine after dinner, bathed regularly at or before sunrise, read very little, brooded less, and tried not to be idle a moment, but always either to be actually writing, or taking exercise, or in company, I have been perceptibly better—my breathing less smothered, and I am less apt to sink at once into nervous dosings, with twitches etc. I cannot expect that greatly as something within me, stomach, or liver, or mesentery [*sic*] is deranged, I can establish my health otherwise than very slowly, but it is greatly in my favor that this very hot weather (the Thermometer 80 in the shade) agrees with me. I am not at all oppressed or *discomforted* by it—and, I believe, I am the only Englishman in the Island that can say this.

<sup>1</sup> From a letter to William Sotheby dated March 13, 1804.

<sup>2</sup> Coleridge's official appointment lasted from January 18, 1805, to September 6, 1805; cf. *Letters*, II, 494.

<sup>3</sup> The Military commander at Malta.

When I write from Sicily I hope I shall be able to send a yet more cheerful account, and to tell you not only how I am, but likewise what I have done.

Meantime remember me with respectful affection to Mrs Sotheby and Miss Sotheby, and believe me, my dear Sir, whether sick or well, in Malta or in England I remember your kindnesses with pleasure as well as gratitude for I feel that I am not unworthy of them—with very affectionate esteem

Your obliged and attached Friend

S. T. COLERIDGE

Sir A. Ball is a very extraordinary man—indeed a great man. And he is really the abstract Idea of a wise and good Governor. The Ministers were in luck. Merciful Heaven! what wretches they send out as Consuls to the States of Barbary—the seat and bustle-place of French intrigue—and thither they send to check the picked Agents of the French Government—a Mr Longford—whose brawls with his wife, and notorious Follies drive every servant out of his house—a man the laughing-stock of all Malta! “O he is only a Barbary Consul!” These “onlies” threaten our country terribly, my dear Sir! and if you have any influence with any person about Government, you would act the part of a true Patriot in pressing on them the necessity of sending out men of Talents and character to all the coasts of [the] Mediterranean—Fools *that are* to be provided for had better be pensioned at once; the nation would save millions by the scheme.

P.S. Sir A. has repeatedly told [me] that if any place should be vacant, he would give it me, and has offered me the Salary of the under Secretary during his absence, which may be two months including his Quarantine, and indeed has given me the power to draw for the 2 months salary—that is to say £50. But this I do not intend doing.

One month later, Coleridge, writing to Southey, shows that he is still cheerful and that he retains Sir Alexander Ball’s confidence. His letter concludes:

I go to Sicily next week—have been for the last six weeks domesticated with Sir A. Ball, who is exceedingly kind to [me]. I live when in the country, which I am 9 days out of 10, at the Palace of St. Antonio 4 miles from La Valetta when in La Valetta at the Palace there—and if living in lofty and splendid rooms be a pleasure, I have it—I hope to have an opportunity of writing to Sara in the course of the next week, but I must not let this slip by—O my sweet children! and I know nothing of them. May God Almighty bless you

and S. T. COLERIDGE

By November 5, 1804, Coleridge was in Sicily, whither he had gone, if not officially, at least with instructions from Sir Alexander Ball. The two letters which follow indicate that Coleridge’s position

at Malta was of considerable importance, and that he was vitally interested in the conduct of the war against the French. These letters to Sir Alexander Ball are dated Syracuse, November 5, and Malta, November 8, 1804; and though they are full of minute detail are of considerable importance to students of Coleridge.

DEAR SIR

On Saturday noon I saw from the Ramparts a small French Privateer bring into this harbour a merchant vessel under British colors. The Capt'n. and the crew of the Privateer appeared both in looks and manners as ill-conditioned Ruffians as could have been well brought together in one open Boat. I could not learn either on that day or the next by any Inquiry, which I had a right to make, that the legality of the Capture as far as it depended on the real character of the Captors had been at all examined into, any questions asked whether the acting commander of the Privateer was or was not commissioned by any belligerent Government, or any precautions taken which (perhaps from my ignorance of the usages of Neutral Ports) I had supposed to have been customary, both from the respect which every civilised Government owes to itself, and as a check upon Piracy, the common object of detestation with all Governments not absolutely barbarous. This morning I heard that the merchantman had been ransomed in a manner, that seemed to imply no great confidence in the Captors themselves as to the lawfulness of the Prize. Three or four American officers dined at Mr Leckie's<sup>1</sup> at an unusually late hour; and from one of them (Capt'n. Decater—[sic]) I heard that there was some disturbance on the Marina, that an English cutter was placed alongside of the French Privateer, the crew of which had fled to the Ramparts. Between 7 and 8 o'clock (immediately after our dinner) an officer came with the Governor's carriage entreating Mr Leckie's presence instantly on the Marina. He went, and I with him, and on stepping out of the carriage I found by the Torches that about 300 soldiers were drawn up on the Shore opposite the English Cutter and that the walls etc. were manned. Mr. Skinner and two of his officers were on the rampart, and the Governor and a crowd of Syracusan Nobles with him at the distance of two or three yards from Mr. Skinner. After some conversation with Mr Leckie the Governor desired to know if Mr. Skinner had received a Letter (see PA the paper enclosed in this letter) from him. Mr Skinner acknowledged the receipt, but in consequence of his not understanding Italian it had been left unread. The letter (in answer to Mr Skinner's first letter marked—A) was sent for; read and then interpreted by Mr. L. to Mr. Skinner. This letter Mr Skinner will of course deliver to your Excellency; it appeared to me a Letter of mere Evasion, with no definite meaning. Mr Skinner then thro' Mr Leckie demanded of the Governor that the Crew of the Privateer should be given up to him as Pirates, if they had acted without lawful authority, or, if the Privateer had acted with lawful authority, that authenticated copies of the Commission

<sup>1</sup> G. F. Leckie (or Lecky) was His Majesty's consul at Syracuse; cf. *Letters*, II, 485 n.

and other Papers appertaining should be delivered to him, for the British Government at Malta. The Governor promised that early tomorrow morning such examination should be made: that if the men were found guilty, they should be delivered up: if not, copies of the Papers on which their acquittal had been founded. It was then asked by Mr Leckie whether or no the Governor meant to consider a pretended Commission given by a French General in a neutral port as a legal Commission. The Privateer pretended to no other; and as Letters of Marque could not be legally given from a Neutral Port, either the Kingdom of Naples etc. must be at war with G. Britain, or this could be no Commission. This question though repeatedly pressed and argued on the Governor would not answer, but he would send instantly to Palermo, that it might be decided by the Government there; and it would be at least a month, before any answer could be expected. Mr Skinner then demanded whether the Governor would secure the Crew of the Privateer till such time as a definite decision should be received. This the Governor refused. For this night they should be placed in the Lazaretto under a Guard; and on the morning the papers should be examined. Further, he neither promised or said anything definite. He talked or rather screamed, indeed incessantly. I never witnessed a more pitiable scene of confusion, and weakness, of manifest determination to let the French escape, and of ridiculous attempts to do it with some shew of reason. Mr Skinner then complained of want of respect to himself as a Commander of a British Vessel of War, no flag having been raised to him or return made to his Portsignal on his entrance into the Harbour. For this the Governor promised compleat satisfaction. He was wholly ignorant of it; and would put the man in irons, to whose neglect of Duty this omission had been owing. So the Scene ended, for the Night. It is but justice however to notice the coolness, dignity and good sense, with which Mr Skinner acted throughout the whole of the Business, and which formed an interesting contrast to the noisy Imbecility of the Governor, and the brutal Insolence of the Commander of the Privateer, who in a very indecent manner leapt from the Rampart on which he had been standing with his Crew, and threatened the Governor flinging back his own words upon him with tones and gestures of personal Insult, which drew from the Governor no other mark of resentment or word of animadversion, but a very timid "Basta! basta" to which the Privateer (who spoke Italian) answered "Basta! basta! Basta! *non basta!*" and then re-mounted the wall.

How the affair will end, as far as the Governor is concerned in it, it is easy to foresee. The Commander of the Privateer will produce a real or feigned Paper from a French General at Tarento on which—tho' without deciding that the same is a *legal* commission he will acquit the Crew of Piracy, and suffer them to escape, and probably make a complaint against Mr. Skinner, if he should pursue them within the 24 hours etc—etc. The policy of the Governor consists wholly in this—he says to himself, whatever is done to offend the French, however rightfully, the French are nigh at hand to punish, and certain to resent, whatever is done against the English by the Neapolitan



Government he believes that the English Cabinet never will resent—"from the kind regard (I use his own words as nearly as I can render them) the good Sovereign of England has for our poor King." Whenever an argument is pressed, which cannot be answered, the substitute for an answer is a shrug of the shoulders and "nostro povero Re."

The same conduct is pursued with regard to the Americans, between whom and the English the most mortifying distinctions are made. For instance Capt. Craycroft was put in Quarantine because he came from Malta—the Americans from the same place have all Prattic [pratique] instantly. I was surprized to see Mr. Miller yesterday till I found that he had come with Capt. Chauncey. It is said that the Americans give false accounts of themselves; but this is not true. No questions are asked that can draw out a true account, and even when by some accident the Truth is said, the Prattic Master is deaf to all but the answers to the previously concerted questions. At the time that the Americans were permitted to come on shore instantly on their arrival from Malta, the Governor was hourly expecting an order to put all vessels from Malta under a Quarantine of 29 days instead of eight, so great an alarm had the accounts of the Fever at Gibraltar spread. But of all this I shall write to your Excellency more at length by the first safe opportunity from Messina, whither I am going tomorrow morning in company with Mr Ricand—if I can see this affair settled before noon. For Mr Leckie is obliged to go into the country to attend his sowing; and it will be a satisfaction to Mr Skinner if I see the original Papers, of which he is to have copies for me. Tomorrow morning early I go to the Marina, and shall give this Letter to Mr Skinner and if anything else occur, I will write a second. Dear Sir! I have not wholly deserved all that you must necessarily have thought of me, this is at least the 5th Letter, which I have written to you. But from Messina I hope to convince that I have neither been forgetful of you or of my Duty, as far as my Health and state of Spirits permitted. I hesitate to go to Naples, for which place you have been so good as to furnish me with a Letter; but I will explain myself at length from Messina. With my most respectful & grateful Remembrances to Lady Ball,

I remain, dear Sir,

with respectful attachment  
your obliged and grateful  
humble serv.

S. T. COLERIDGE

The second letter is as follows:

L'HIRONDELLE, QUARANTINE HARBOUR, MALTA, Thursday Morning

As we cannot go on shore and Capt. Skinner has not had time to prepare his papers so as to be able to send them to your Excellency sufficiently clear without the aid of explanation by word of mouth, I have thought it best to finish the account of the affair which I had begun on Monday Night and carried on as far as the affair itself had extended. On Tuesday Morning Mr



Lackie feeling the delicacy of his situation as a Sicilian subject and a man under special obligations to the King of Naples declined further interference in the business, unless he should be directly desired by the Governor and as an interpreter merely, I waited therefore on the Governor myself, and found him and his Counsellors in extreme confusion, three out of four talking at once. The Governor speaks very fair Italian and his enunciation, however rapid from passion and impatience of mind, is yet always unusually distinct. I had therefore no difficulty in understanding him. From him though with great difficulty in consequence of his passionate gestures, ejaculations, digressions, long stories about Lieutenant *Spencer* etc., I learnt at last, that the Board of Health had wished to remove the Privateer and the Crew to another part of the Harbour, whither Captn. Skinner could not follow, and that Captn. Skinner had positively refused to permit them; but from the time of his landing to that very moment had kept his Guns, with the Tompions out, directly pointed at the Privateer, almost as it were within Pistol shot of the Batteries. At the same time the Officer, who acts as the Governor's Secretary and who is comparatively at least a man of sense shewed me Captn. Skinner's first Letter—which at first a little surprised me, as in this the only demand made was the liberation of the two vessels taken by the Privateer—to which it appeared certainly a sufficient answer, that the two vessels were not in that Harbour, nor in any place within the authority or indeed knowledge of the Governor of Syracuse. I saw however the grounds on which Captn. Skinner had proceeded. He knew that tho' the vessels were not in the Harbour, yet that large sums of money as well as valuable stores extorted and pillaged from the two Vessels were on board the Privateer: and thought it his Duty therefore to prevent their escape till such time as their conduct should be examined into. I know too myself from good authority that the Privateer had no other commission, but a pretended one from Govoni St. Cyr, issued from the neutral port of Tarento. I had called on Commodore Prebbell, and seen five other American Captains, and they all separately, as well as the American Consul, had assured me that this was no legal commission and that the Privateer Crew were mere Pirates. Likewise it was known to many that this very commission had been recalled by the French Consul at Palermo in consequence of a general order from Buonaparte not to issue Letters of Marque to vessels under 50 Ton, and to recall all such as had been previously issued. I thought it prudent therefore to turn the whole attention as much as possible on the utter want of legitimate character in the Privateer. The Governor desired me at last to go to Captn. Skinner and to desire him to communicate in writing his wishes and demands respecting the Crew and Vessels. I accordingly went, and having consulted with Captn. Skinner wrote the Demands, of which I enclose the Copy marked A. I read them to Captn. Skinner, and asked him if the words conveyed his full meaning, and not mine, and it being what he wished, he signed it, and after some useless time wasted at the Governor's I went home. Mr. Leckie translated it—I

transcribed the translation fairly, and took a copy of the original, and sent with it the Translation to the Governor. I found him himself in the Health Office on the Marina complaining bitterly, that he had brought down the originals of the Privateer's Papers and copies, and that Captn. Skinner was still dissatisfied. On speaking however to Captn. S. I found that this was a mistake originating in the Governor and Captn. S. not understanding each other. I therefore at the Captn.'s desire examined the original Papers, and collated them line for line with the copies, and delivered them with the Letter which had been sent to me for Captn. S. in answer to his demands (see Answer B.) I knew beforehand that the Assessor a man of the very worst character and notoriously the creature of the French, would declare the Papers regular and the commission good, though without assigning any one reason; and upon this opinion of the Assessor the Governor would found his detention or non-detention of the Privateer. Accordingly, I advised Captn. Skinner to restate his reasons for his full belief of the piratical character of the Privateer, and the little claim it had, to protection from any neutral or even civilised port. For to fix the attention upon this, I saw, was the only way to place the measures of the British Cutter in a point of view, from which they would seem justifiable. The Assessor, on whose opinion all was to depend, I had conversed with in the morning; and so had Leckie who came in about Noon. It is strictly fact that he had not even heard the names of any one of the Books, which are allowed to contain the principles of the public Maritime Laws of Europe, nor could he say, on what principles he meant to decide on the regularity or irregularity of the Papers of the Privateer. The opinion of the Assessor (see Papers C., D.) was at length obtained, just as Mr. Skinner's last letter was sent off, and with it the opinion—the Governor's refusal to detain even for an hour the Privateer, or the Crew. Of course nothing further was to be done, and as soon as I had taken a copy of the letter (see Paper E.) I put up my Things hastily, and instead of going to Messina have returned to Malta, thinking that I might be of some service perhaps to Captn. Skinner in the explanation of the business and that if advisable, I might as easily get to Messina from La Valetta as from Syracuse. We left the Port of Syracuse about 11 o'clock on Tuesday Night—and with the Maltese Vessels that were ready to accept convoy, & one of which had been ransomed for 400 dollars an hour before Captn. Skinner's arrival at Syracuse—We arrived before Valetta at 8 o'clock, and were instantly put in Quarantine—

I remain with usual devotion, dear Sir,  
Your obliged & grateful humb. Serv.

S. T. COLERIDGE.

I have mentioned and inclosed all the papers, excepting the *Petition* delivered by your Excellency to Captn. Skinner, which was read by the Governor and of which he took a Copy. This Captn. Skinner will redeliver to your Excellency.

*P.S.* I have now inclosed that *Petition* (Pap. 1.) and likewise the Governor's Letter to your Excellency.

To his wife, in a letter dated December 12, 1804, Coleridge describes his activities. Of his abortive plan to visit Greece and the lower Balkans, and of his £500 possible salary, information is lacking. To Coleridge's critics, who deny that he ascended Mount Etna, here is the assertion that he did so twice.<sup>1</sup>

DEAR SARA

I will not occupy much of the short letter I have time to write, in expressing what anguish even to bodily disease I have suffered by the almost total failure of my Letters from England, the *certain* loss of *one* large parcel sent by me homeward from Sicily, which was taken by an Algerian and my papers not improbably at Paris by this time and no certainty of the other. A convoy will leave this place in less than a fortnight when I shall write at full. This letter I send to the fleet in *hope* that it may come to hand by a Russian Officer of my acquaintance. I returned or rather was abruptly recalled from Syracuse, Nov. 7, just as the carriage was at the door in which I was going to Messina, and thence to visit the island. I was there about 3 months chiefly at Syracuse, or within forty miles of it but I have been twice on the top of Mount Etna, and if I had gone on to Messina, I should have been just in time to have seen the eruption of Vesuvius. The fatigue of ascending Etna is the only thing that has not been exaggerated etc etc. Of Sicily in general all is exaggerated grossly except the abominableness of the government, and the vice and abject wretchedness of the people. I have been strenuous in awakening the government to the true character and vices of the Court of Naples, for the last 4 months, yet still I have reason to fear that the cowardice and ignorance of Ministers, their improper choice of foreign Agents and a sort of stupid personal feeling for the King and Queen of Naples will throw Sicily into the hands of France, if even at this moment it is not done. My health is *very greatly* improved in this heavenly climate—the trees are loaded with oranges now in the state for plucking, and La Valetta echoes with cries of green peas. . . . The last week was very cold and rainy and I suffered from it—but now it is exactly like our pleasantest days in Autumn. Were I happy, I should grow stout, but tho' I am tranquil, I do not know what it is to have one *happy* moment, or *one* genial feeling. Not one, so help me God! No visitation of mind in fancy, but only the same dull gnawing pain at the heart—sometimes, indeed, tho' seldom relieved by a flow of tears when I can cry aloud to myself—My children my children.

I am still an inmate of the Palace, tho' I sleep and study in a sort of garret in the Treasury commanding a most magnificent view of open sea, and lake-like harbour as grand and impressive as a view can be without trees, rivers or green fields. I only however stay here till a suite of rooms can be fitted up for me in the Palace—My *old* ones were given in my absence to Commissioner

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Letters*, II, 485 n.: "It is unlikely that he reached the actual summit, but two ascents were made, probably to the limit of the wooded region." I have not seen Coleridge's unpublished notebook to which E. H. Coleridge refers; but I see no reason for such an assertion, in view of Coleridge's statement to the contrary.

Отway. What I am to receive I scarcely know. I have had £50 but my various expences in Sicily, bedding, 2 pair of sheets, mosquito curtain etc and for clothes (as I dine at the Palace as confidential Secretary of the Government every day)—as well as for the little comforts I must have in my own room and the expence of my servant, obliged to draw upon Stuart for £50, which however I hope to replace by the next convoy—at all events I shall send you £50 to pay my Life-Assurance and your mother. Out of this £100, however, which I have spent, you must understand that I have payed Dr. Stoddart an old debt of £25, which reduced it to £75. I guess that in a few days I shall have to receive a £100 as four months salary. I am constantly and even laboriously employed and the confidence placed in me by Sir A. Ball is unlimited. I am, if I do not cry off myself—to go into Greece at the beginning of January on a corn-commission for the island, and from thence thro Albania along the Northern-shore of the Archipelago to Constantinople, thence up the Black Sea to the mouth of the Dnieper and into the Crimea, and possibly into the heart of Russia. Captn. Leake is to be with me if he is not called off by other duties; but it will be a most anxious business, as I shall have the trust and management of 70, or 80 thousand £, while I shall not have for my toil and perils more than 3 or 4 hundred £, exclusive of all my expenses in travelling etc—on the whole, if I could get off with honour, I would and shall make the attempt. I undertook it in a fit of despair when Life was a burthen to me. If I could make up my mind to stay here or to follow Sir A.B. in case that circumstances and change in the political world should lead him to Sardinia no doubt I might have about £500 a year, and live mainly at the Palace—but God! O God! if that Sara which we both know too well, were not unalterably my lot, how gladly would I prefer the mere necessities of life in England and these obtain by dint of effort—But since my health has been restored to me, I have felt more than ever how unalterable it is! whatever and wherever I am, be assured that my first anxiety and prominent Duty will be to contribute everything in my power to make you as happy as I can compatibly with the existence of that health and tranquillity (joyless indeed both) on which the very power of doing anything for you must depend. I hope however to see more clearly the way before me in less than a fortnight. How I long for Letters from Southey and from Grasmere. O my children! I cannot write their names. Even to speak of them there is an effort of courage. Remember me, of course, to Mr. Jackson, to Mrs. Wilson etc—May God Almighty preserve your health and life for your own happiness and for the sake of our dear children. I remain faithful to you and to my own honour in all things, and am most anxiously and affectionately your friend and more than friend

S. T. COLERIDGE

After this letter there is a wide gap in Coleridge's unpublished correspondence, the next letter being dated August 21, 1805.<sup>1</sup> By

<sup>1</sup> E. H. Coleridge includes three letters; cf. *Letters*, II, 487-97.

this time he was tiring completely of his official duties, and as the climate no longer afforded him any increased health, he planned to return home at the earliest opportunity.

MY DEAR SARA

Having written to you at full by the June Frigate tho' from its not being absolutely certain that she will touch directly at Gibraltar I did not choose to enclose the second bill of exchange, I now write merely as an envelope for that bill, by Colonel Smith who goes today to Naples, from thence overland to England, with dispatches. I had flattered myself that I should have gone with him: as indeed I have been flattering myself every week for the last six months that I should have permission and opportunity to go, but Sir Alexander has still contrived, in one way or another to prevent it. Now however he has given me his solemn promise that as soon as I have written six public letters, and examined into the Law-forms of the Island which cannot take me more than a week altogether, he will forward me immediately to Naples and will use his best interest with Mr. Elliot our Ambassador at Naples, to send me home with dispatches—which of course, would *frank* me home. As this however is an uncertainty I am obliged to retain about £120 by me, but whatever money I am obliged to spend in travelling over land, will be amply repayed to me by the booksellers. It has injured my health very considerably, this continued disappointment both in my return, and in my letters—and this well-grounded suspicion, that the letters sent by me have not been more fortunate than those sent from England to me. The weather has been dreadfully hot for the last month—sometimes as high as 95 Fahrenheit, seldom lower than 85—It has brought out boils and prickly heat on my body, and seriously annoyed me. . . .

Sir Alexander Ball's kindness and confidence in me is unlimited. He told a gentleman a few days ago, that were he a man of fortune, he would gladly give me £500 a year to dine with him twice a week for the mere advantage which he received from my conversation—and for a long time he has been offering me different places to induce me to return—he would give me a handsome home, garden, country house and £600 a year certain. I thank him cordially, but neither accept nor refuse. I had lately a fine opening in America which I was much inclined to accept but my knowledge of Wordsworth's aversion to America stood in my way.

My health is by no means what I could wish—the quantity and variety of my public business confine me and I cannot take enough exercise—and Malta, alas! it is a barren rock—the sky, the sea, the Bay, the Buildings are all beautiful—but no river, no brooks, no hedges, no green fields, almost no trees, and the few that are are unlovely. It might have been better for me if I had remained wholly independent—for the living in a huge Palace all to myself like a mouse in a Cathedral—on a fair or market day and the being hail'd most illustrious Lord the Public Secretary are no pleasures to me who have no ambition, and having no curiosity the deal I see of men & things only

tends to tinge my mind with melancholy—However I trust that the first of September will be the latest time I shall stay here—Of all tender recollections I have spoken in my last—and do not wonder if with people about me craving dispatch of business I cannot bring myself to write down names that make my inmost heart as often bleed tears, as dissolve with tenderness—All whom I loved in England I seem to love tenfold in Malta—My dear Sara, may God bless you—be assured, I shall never cease to do everything that can make you happy—<sup>1</sup>

The story of Coleridge's romantic escape from Italy has been often told. Sir Alexander Ball had planned to appoint him an official emissary to England that there might be no expense to Coleridge; but the plan apparently failed to materialize. After considerable difficulty Coleridge obtained passage with Captain Derkheim, an American, and so escaped the French.<sup>2</sup> Captain Derkheim, after having proved a staunch friend to Coleridge during the long voyage homeward, later seems to have entirely omitted to return to him a trunk full of valuable papers—those which were not destroyed to avoid detection.

Shortly after his arrival in England, Coleridge wrote to Southey; but it was weeks before he even tried to face his domestic problems.<sup>3</sup> Of his voyage he says to Southey:

Very very ill I was at my setting off from Leghorn—not one meal in ten, little as I eat, could I retain on my stomach—and we had 55 days aboard ship, and what I suffered even to the last day, may the worst of men only ever feel. Had not the captain loved me as he often said, better than a brother, and performed all the offices of a nurse I could not have survived. . . . Three times he clearly saved my life. I detail these shocking circumstances to you and my wife, in order that you may feel part of the gratitude which I am ever to do.<sup>4</sup>

Apparently Coleridge never recovered all his papers; and his letter to Mrs. Coleridge, dated by E. H. Coleridge October 2, 1806, shows that Captain Derkheim did not act in good faith.

#### MY DEAR LOVE

I have been sitting in a thorough mope for the whole day, not knowing what to do; and every now and then resolving that I would go and seek a

<sup>1</sup> From a letter to Mrs. Sara Coleridge.

<sup>2</sup> See J. D. Campbell, *Coleridge*, p. 151, for a discussion of Coleridge's escape from the French.

<sup>3</sup> "Coleridge dares not go home, he recoils so much from the thought of domesticating with Mrs. Coleridge" (J. D. Campbell, *Coleridge*, p. 154, and W. Knight, *The Life of William Wordsworth* [London, 1899] II, 74).

<sup>4</sup> From a letter dated August 20, 1806.



place in the Mail for to-night, spite of all that prudence on the state of my health could suggest to the contrary. The idea of so frequently disappointing you harasses me insufferably. But alas! I have a doleful tale to relate. I have acquainted you with what tenderness Capt'n. Derkheim treated me during my long voyage from Leghorn, and that I have reason to believe that I owe my life to him; when I quitted his ship at Stangate Creek, with a prejudice against smuggling almost peculiar to Americans and arising out of the happy state of a new country under a republican Government he persuaded me not to take my loose Books, some 40 volumes, nor my trunk of books and other valuables, on shore with me, which by connivance of the Customhouse Officers, whom we had bribed, I could easily have done—as my companions actually did; without the slightest difficulty. These of course were to be first quarantined, and then sent to the Custom-house. The Captain repeatedly entreated me not to take the least concern—that it was altogether unsuited to my exceeding weakness, both of body and spirits—that he would do the whole—the loose books he would himself bring out of the ship, by fours and fives at a time, and that he would see me every day—and as soon as the Trunk could be got out of the Custom House, he would get it, settle for it, and send it to the Courier Office—Among my scanty property there were about a dozen pieces of Roman Pearls—each sufficient for two large double necklaces and a pair of Bracelets and 5 bottles of Ottar of White Roses, which were presented to me by the Minister of the Dey of Tunis as a mark of acknowledgement for my having pleaded for the Dey in the Court of Admiralty at Malta. These of course I had designed for you—not indeed for your own use—but that you might make little presents of them especially, I meant you to have sent all the Ottar of Roses—except one bottle to Lady Beaumont for the Ottar of *White* Roses is more than tenfold the value of the other, dear and scarce as both are, when genuine, and indeed is not to get once in 20 years in this country. However, observing that the Capt'n. often admired the Roman Pearls, and being wholly penniless, I thought, that my shewing myself grateful to a man, who had preserved my Life, would give you more pleasure, than the giving away the Pearls yourself—I therefore begged him to accept of them—but reserved the Ottar of Roses, which (I know) he got out of the ship. It irks me to tell you the sequel, instead of calling on me, every day he only dined with me once—I was always fagging after him in vain, and have written no less than four letters of almost passionate entreaty, for my books as I could not give my lectures without them—I received two strange evasive answers—the last acknowledging but excusing his neglect by the fact that he had been courting a Lady and was married—but all things he would settle with me, face to face—I waited three or four days, anxiously expecting to see him. At length, overborne with anxiety, and suspense I went after him on Tuesday—and lo! he had sailed on the Sunday morning, without leaving a Line for me, or speaking a word concerning my property to his wife or wife's relations. I sent a Letter to him inclosed by Mr. Street in one to



his correspondent at Deal—the Cor. found that the ship had passed that very morning with a fair wind, but after met his wife who knew nothing of the business, and only said—Good God! Mr. Coleridge is an intimate friend of Captain Derkheim's. The loss is very serious to me in many respects and I can only explain it by supposing that he had given away the Ottar of Roses to his mistress and was ashamed to see me afterwards. I have only one chance, that of searching the Custom House for my Books but I am wholly unable to do it myself, and can find no friend to do it for me. Likewise more than half my cloathes are at Parndon, so that I have not now even a clean shirt, what can I do, my Love? Be assured, nothing you can suffer is one 4th of what I suffer in consequence of this delay. I will write again tomorrow—

God bless you, my dear Love, and your Husband—

S. T. C.

The anxiety, fatigue, walking in wet shoes to Tower Hill & back, and above all the shocking struggle between Indignation and gratitude proved too much for me, and I was obliged to keep my bed till yester evening, and am still a bewildered man.

On November 30, 1806, Coleridge renewed his correspondence with his brother George, who had once been a sort of father-confessor to him; and as this letter hurriedly reviews Coleridge's whole Malta experience, it will serve perhaps to conclude this paper.

. . . Shortly after my arrival in Malta, Sir A. Ball begged me to accept the offer of Private Secretary to him *nominally*, during the time of Mr Chapman's absence, who was there on a corn-mission in the Black Sea, and would certainly not return in less than two months. This was not stated to be meant as a compliment to my general talents, and a return for a political memorial which I had written. The salary, too, (it was stated) would pay the expenses [of] my intended Sicilian tour etc. My mind misgave me, but, at length, I accepted of the offer, and then removed to the Palace, and so far from finding it *nominal*, I had no small difficulty in realising my Sicilian project. However I did this in the fall of the year, and did not return to Malta till the close of it. Mr Chapman was not yet returned, and Mr Macaulay, the Public Secretary was perfectly *effete* and superannuated. For Sir A. Ball *personally* I had a great affection and respect, indeed admiration, and he on the other hand had treated me with the most unbounded respect in public; which I valued only for the motive, and with a fatherly tenderness and confidence in private. Always a facile thing, I could not resist his entreaties to take upon me the office, first of assistant, and, afterwards, at the death of Mr Macaulay which took place in a few weeks of Public Secretary (still looking forward with anxious hopes to the arrival of Mr. Chapman, at all events I had determined to return to England in spring. My object had

failed—whatever benefit the climate of Malta had afforded, it was but a poor counterbalance to the utter dreariness of that white rock, the removal from all the pleasurable actions of my mind, of Books or Prospects or familiar faces, and the round of official splendour and official employment: things which were not meant for me. However April came but Mr. Chapman had not returned, and it was uncertain as ever when he *would*. Sir A. Ball intreated me not to leave him. I could not say *no*! I did not say *yes*! But I sullenly complied with him, and from that month lost all the little spirits and activity of mind, which I had hitherto retained. I will not tire you with the detail. Suffice that I was detained from month to month, till on my arrival in Sicily in November, meaning to pass from Messina to Trieste, and so thro' Germany to England (for a long sea-voyage I dreaded more than Death, and with abundant reason). I soon discovered that I had been detained too long: and that I must winter either in Sicily or Naples. By the inducement of Elliot, our minister at Naples, I was at length persuaded to go to Naples, discovered Elliot to be everything that Sir A. Ball was not and nothing that he was. I went from thence to Rome meaning to return to Naples and leaving almost all my little property, papers etc in the care of Mr Noble an English resident—before I had been in Rome a fortnight, the French Torrent poured down on that devoted country, the natural and necessary consequence of the mad and profligate, if not traitorous plans of our Minister. I still hoped to have made interest by means of the artists etc to have been permitted to go through Milanese into Germany, but it was impossible. Besides my finances were exhausted and my letters of credit I had left at Naples. Had I left Malta in the April I should have been in point of money, neither loser or gainer to any considerable amount—as it was my employments have cost me at least £200, besides loss of time, and of that literary reputation, which to me is (my maker knows) . . . [not more] . . . desirable, than as it is a duty of gratitude in me to aim at it, and in the attainment of it might procure friends for my little ones after my decease, which I less than most men have any right to consider as a distant event.

From Rome by the friendship of young Russell I passed to Florence, just in time to escape an arrest from the French, and after a long delay at Florence and Pisa and Leghorn I at length embarked in an American vessel, and after 55 days of literal horror almost daily expecting and wishing to die, I at last trod again on my native land.

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## REVIEWS

*Stilgeschichte der eddischen Wissensdichtung.* By WALTHER HEINRICH VOGT. Erster Band: *Der Kultredner (pulr)*. ["Schriften der Baltischen Kommission zu Kiel," Band IV, 1. Teil.] Breslau: F. Hirt. 1927.

This work<sup>1</sup> is a very comprehensive treatment of the Old Norse *pulr*, together with Old English *pyle* and derivative words. The subject of discussion is naturally no new one, and a detailed account is first given of earlier opinions. Among remoter connections the τοῦλ τοῦλ of the so-called Gothic Christmas play and the Latinized Slavic *Tulissones* are for adequate reasons rejected. For the rejection of the ON *Fimbulhul* as the name of a river in the abode of the gods I cannot see equal justification. That as a compound it should be separable in its etymological elements from the nearly identical *Fimbulpulr* applied to Odin seems improbable in the extreme. The murmuring recitation of the *pulr* deduced by the author would apply very nicely in the poetic name of a divine river. That its use as a river-name is so secondary and late as to contribute little or nothing to the investigation is to be granted.

The author's method of ascertaining what the *pulr* really was is the essentially sound one of determining what the Eddic and other passages really say about him. This naturally brings him into collision with the brilliant theorizing of Müllenhoff. Vogt finds that Rosenberg was right in assuming that the original activity of the *pulr* was connected with the cult of the gods and that the later uses of the word can without too great trouble be derived from this one. The recitation of the *pulr* was in a subdued singing tone. That which he recited, the *pula*, was of course in metrical form and involved some repetition of formally like elements, as in the *Rigspula*. That *pula* later came to signify a mere list of names or words in metrical arrangement (the *nafna-pulur*) is a development in the nature of a degeneration. It is contended, perhaps on insufficient evidence, that the *pulr* followed the calling expressed by the title to the exclusion of other life-activity. His social rank was high: he belonged to the landholding nobility. The facts with reference to the OE *pyle* may be interpreted in harmony with those pertaining to the ON *pulr*. His position was at first one looked upon with respect, but suffered later through competition with the newer *scop*.

There follows an attempt to outline the Old Germanic methods of communication with the gods, which are declared essentially similar to those of

<sup>1</sup> The author has himself given an abstract of its essential content in *Acta Philologica Scandinavica*, II (1927), 250-63.

the *pulr*. A supplement contains comments on two ON poems (*Vikarsbálkr* and the Valkyrie-song) and one poet (Haukr Valdísarson).

If a general criticism may be ventured, it would be to the effect that the definition of the words is reasonably satisfactory and conclusive. The further reasoning, while otherwise unobjectionable, seems to me often to rest upon too little basis in the way of preserved documentation. This would apply particularly to the question of the nature of the vocation of the *pulr* and the relation to Old Germanic religious cult.

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*Oudfriesche Oorkonden*. Bewerkt door P. SIPMA. Eerste deel. Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1927. Pp. xiii+392. 18 fl., \$7.20.

It is a long time since much work has been done on the remains of Old Frisian, and all scholars interested in that neglected branch of Germanic studies will welcome Mr. Sipma's fresh presentation of the available material. The charters and other documents now published under the foregoing title are only the first instalment of a more comprehensive work (*Oudfriesche Taal- en Rechtsbronnen*), which when complete will form a reliable *corpus* both of the linguistic and the legal material. Students of the language are already indebted to Mr. Sipma for his excellent *Phonology and Grammar of Modern West Frisian*, a work which is in itself sufficient evidence of his capacity for such an undertaking as he has now embarked on.

The present instalment of the work contains 545 documents, arranged in order of date, and covering the period from 1379 to 1508. To his first document, indeed, Mr. Sipma assigns the date 1329, but there appears good reason for suspecting that it rather belongs to 1379, which would bring it into a natural connection with No. 2. The original is lost, and the printed copy (from 1658) has the clearly erroneous year 1429. From 1386 onward there is a regular succession of dated documents, affording valuable material for tracing changes in the language during the whole course of the fifteenth century. In records of this class, however, there is naturally much conservatism, and the data can throw at best only a partial light on the development of the spoken tongue during the period in question. It is interesting to note the late survival of some inflectional forms, e.g., *twira kuna gers*, 'two cows' grass,' in 1505, but *twa ku gers* in 1508.

Unfortunately, the documents do not present much variety of type, and consequently comprise only a limited vocabulary. The great majority are deeds relating to land, and are expressed in very general terms, without that exact specification of boundary-marks and other details which makes the Anglo-Saxon charters so valuable as a source of our knowledge of the vocabulary. Nor is there anything in the nature of inventories from which something might be learned with regard to clothing, furniture, and other possessions. Quite exceptional is the mention of a *walsche tabbert* and a *stelen armborst* in

1501. Only now and then does a whole document of a special character appear. One of 1407 testifies to the innocence of Foppa Ursbisma in respect of the slaying of a certain Lambert, since the actual slayer was not Foppa's 'bread-eating man either before or after the deed.' It is also rare to find the language rising above the usual unadorned legal style, as in an assignment of land in 1475, which closes with prohibiting anyone from interfering with the occupier *alzo langh als wint wayet, ende kint scrayet, gres groyet ende bloem bloeyet* ('as long as wind blows, and child cries, grass grows and flower blooms').

The limited range of the documents, however, involving constant repetition of the same words and phrases, will provide a very full record of the varying forms of those which do occur. The names of the days of the week, for instance, form an interesting series, as may be seen from the following examples, all earlier than 1470: Monday, *monendeys, mannen-deys; mennende-y*. Tuesday, *thiisdeis, tijsdeys; tijsdey*. Wednesday, *wernesdeis, werndeys, wernes-, wernisdey; wonsdeges*. Thursday, *tornsdeys, tongersdeys, toversdeys; duundersdeis, donnersdeis, tonnersdei*. Friday, *fredeys, fredis, fredes, freedes(dey); frede*; Saturday, *saterdeys; snyondes, sneuwendis, snondes; sonnaiond, sniond*. Sunday, *sonnandeys, snayndis, sneyndes, snandes; snande*.

The publication of this valuable and scholarly work has been assisted by the support of the leading learned society of Friesland. It has fared excellently at the hands of the printer, and is a credit to the publisher as well as an honor to modern Frisian scholarship.

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*Untersuchungen zur Sprachbehandlung Otfrids. Hiatus und Synaloephe.*

By H. DE BOOR. Breslau: Marcus, 1928. ("Germanistische Abhandlungen," No. 60.) Pp. vi+139+i.

The MSS of Otfrid's poem sometimes omit final vowels in hiatus (*hort er* for *horta er*), less often initial vowels (*offonota z* for *offonota iz*); sometimes they mark the final vowel, less often the initial, by *puncta delentia* above and below the letter. In the Vienna MS, probably corrected by Otfrid himself, these dots become so few after the first book that we must postulate for Otfrid a third method of treating elision, namely that of not indicating it at all. The Heidelberg MS (P), a careful but independent-minded copy of V, carries the dots more uniformly through the poem. The MSS agree much better as to omission of letters than as to placing of dots. Earlier study of these things, notably the bulky work of Kappe in Volumes XLI and XLII of *ZfdPh*, reached no satisfactory result. It is de Boor's great merit to have shown, in the present careful investigation, that Otfrid used the first method, omission of a letter, for elisions that were fixed in his spoken language, and the other methods, dots or non-indication, for elisions which were merely possible in the spoken language. These optional elisions Otfrid used, in imitation of Latin verse, to lessen hiatus and to increase his metrical freedom. Of the actual placing of dots he wearied

long before he got through his revision of MS V; the reader, aided by accent marks, could, after all, find the right scansion even without the dots.

By a very keen analysis de Boor further shows that when Otfrid began to revise the Vienna MS he had not yet developed the above-cited distinction: in his original draft and in the early stages of correcting MS V he omitted the vowel for both kinds of elision. Traces of this older method appear with disproportionate frequency in certain parts of the MS, namely the beginning of Book I and the end of Book III; these must have been the first passages of the MS which Otfrid corrected. This at last explains Otfrid's statement in the Preface to Liutbert: "*litteras interdum scriptione servantes, interdum vero ebraicae linguae more vitantes,*" and what follows.

De Boor's style is not always clear. Sometimes the reader must check the count to ascertain what forms are included in the statistics. The printer, too, was at times unkind.

P. 7, l. 3: "übrigen" is ambiguous: the 14 instances which follow *are* included in Table 1.

P. 10, l. 3: "gliedern sich dieser Tabelle ein" is not direct enough to offset the twofold contradictory "dreisilbige" of l. 1 and p. 11, l. 18; the four-syllable forms *are* included in Table 2.

P. 10, l. 6 from bottom: the figure "54" is unintelligible but is guaranteed by the next words; the total given in the table and corresponding to the lists on the next page is 47.

P. 11 n., l. 2: the editions agree on *thenita* as the reading of V; it is P which dots the *a*.

P. 19, l. 5: for "2, 23; I," read "I, 2, 23;".

P. 19, l. 10: for "I, 3" read "I, 2, 23; 3."

P. 20, l. 12 from bottom: at III, 12, 31 P has dotted *i* added above the line before *h*; hence *willuh* is here not "sicher bezeugt."

P. 23, l. 9: for "12" read "iz."

P. 23, l. 2 from bottom: for "13" read "131."

P. 31, l. 12: "wohl mehr analogisch als wirklich sprachgemäss" is misleading; the point is that the analogy was a purely graphic one, resulting in a written form that was never spoken.

P. 31, last line: omit "zu Beginn der nächsten Seite." With this and some other tables should go a plain-spoken note reminding the reader that certain relevant forms *are not* included in the figures.

P. 34, ll. 13 ff.: If the reader is to follow the argument, he must look up all these passages and either keep doing so as he reads on or copy the words concerned, which should, of course, have been printed with the references. In the order of de Boor's citations they are: "bei *er*": *kunni, kriste, gote, philippuse, sciffe, libe, libe, zesue, gote, lone*; "bei *iz*": *festi, guati, ziti, ginada, gidigini, geginwert, gifti*; "bei *es*": *liuti, gouma, arabeiti, lidi*; "bei *ist*": *worolti, puzzi, lante, worolti*; "bei vereinzelt Wörtern": *edili, thurfli, dode, grabe, aze, worolti*.

P. 34, l. 3 from bottom: for "27, 4" read "17, 4 *az eine* und V, 14, 9."



P. 36, l. 6: for "und" read "und neutralen."

P. 38, l. 17 from bottom: for "13" read "130."

P. 41, l. 1: for "13" read "42."

P. 42, l. 2: Here the omission p. 34, ll. 13 ff., makes itself sorely felt. In any case the references should be given: *az* II, 17, 4; *lant* III, 24, 65; *skif* III, 8, 31; *grab* III, 24, 101; *zesu* V, 18, 10; *lib* III, 24, 22; 30; *lon* 818.

P. 42, ll. 20 ff.: From Otfrid's scattered use of short datives (*zi lib*) de Boor concludes that they were no longer current in colloquial speech, but were not yet "felt as" absolutely strange (this seems to me a contradiction in terms) and appear in Otfrid as archaisms of poetic language. The mere occurrence of these forms warrants no such definite conclusion; indeed, it seems more probable that they were good colloquial (witness the nature of the phrases collected by Paul, *PBB*, XII, 553). Otfrid for the most part avoided them because he distrusted his own language wherever it did not follow obvious analogies; his attitude was that of people who have school grammar (Latin or other) and no linguistics—witness the passage in the Preface, "Duo etiam negativi . . ." and so on. For the rest, he was trying to break with poetic tradition. For rhyme and rhythm, and perhaps to avoid hiatus, Otfrid uses forms which he otherwise avoids; if some of these disfavored forms are archaisms, that is merely an accident.

P. 51, l. 1: "anpacken" is as bad as our "tackle"; I cannot reconcile myself with de Boor's scansion in this passage and suspect that Otfrid wrote *theru*, *themo*, *imo* where he spoke and scanned *ther*, *them*, *im* (and even *m*); note IV, 7, 21a, Heusler, *Deutsche Versgeschichte* (Paul, *Grundriss*, No. 8), II (1927), 48.

P. 54, l. 2: for "II" read "III."

P. 54, ll. 16 ff.: These two sentences combine a bad metaphor (the language creating its own forms to satisfy its needs) with roundabout abstract expression, to the point of complete obscurity. The meaning seems to be that Otfrid's German had mandatory short-forms in certain fixed locutions (*hilu h*, not *hilu ih*) and syntactic types (*hort er*, not *horta er*, disyllabic weak past plus *er*), and optional short-forms (which Otfrid indicates by dots) in certain phonetic constellations (*scribu ih* or *scrib ih*).

P. 59, l. 12 from bottom: de Boor is mistaken in rejecting the construction of *gilegiti* with *war 'ubi'*: Otfrid has I, 11, 42 *bi iru nan gilegita*, beside two examples of 'whither' construction and the ambiguous IV, 35, 26 *thar gilegitin*; cf. Notker (Piper) II, 581, 24 and, of course, the Gothic usage; Behaghel, *Deutsche Syntax*, II (1924), 188.

P. 95, ll. 1 ff.: The writings of *sih* for *so ih*, though few, are heavily weighted by the fact that the common combination *so er* is not correspondingly shortened.

P. 103: Does or does not the table include the combination of *si* with *inan*, *imo*?

P. 112, Table 35, first column: for "thio" read "thi."

P. 117, l. 8: for "3" read "13."

P. 117, l. 6 from bottom: "III, 20, 148" belongs after "sós er."

P. 125, l. 2: after "furista" add reference: III, 24, 57.

P. 125, ll. 14 from bottom and ff.: As *wan* may be subjunctive, we cannot speak of unstable *u*.

P. 129, l. 10 from bottom: for "6" read "5."

P. 129, last line: for "25" read "95."

P. 130, l. 16: after "thera selbun" add reference: III, 26, 8.

P. 130, l. 20: for "29" read "20."

P. 131, l. 8: for "19" read "10."

P. 131, l. 22: for "10" read "19."

The chapter headings should be changed to conform with the Table of Contents. An index of passages discussed might well have been added.

LEONARD BLOOMFIELD

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*Giambattista Basile: Il Pentamerone ossia La Fiaba delle fiabe*. Tradotta dall'antico dialetto napoletano e corredata di note storiche da BENEDETTO CROCE. 2 vols. Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1925. Pp. xxxii + 292 and 356.

Giambattista Basile, a Neapolitan gentleman of letters, was born about 1575 and died near Naples in 1632. He served in various capacities in the courts of several states—as secretary, judge, diplomatic agent, governor, and purveyor of literary diversions. With his friend Giulio Cortese, he was the founder of Neapolitan dialect literature. He conceived the idea of setting down in writing the folk tales as he heard them and placing them in a frame after the pattern of the *Decamerone*. Hence the name of *Pentamerone*. He perhaps read some of them in the local academies. This work was incomplete at the time of his death, the last stories being barely sketched.

Basile is credited with making the first and greatest collection of folk tales, antedating Perrault by sixty years. They were first published from 1634 to 1636. They were reprinted six times in the seventeenth century, imitated by Sarnelli in the *Posilecheata*, reprinted four times in the eighteenth century, in 1713 "reduced" into Bolognese by the Manfredi sisters and the Zanottis under the title *La ciaglira dla banzola*, "reduced" in a poor translation into Italian in 1754. Their peculiar value was recognized by Jacob Grimm in 1822 in the critical Appendix to his *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, and this inspired the German translation of Liebrecht and the English of Taylor. For a long time the *Pentamerone* was not reprinted in Italy, except in the Bolognese version, which was reprinted four times in the nineteenth century, the last time in 1883.

In 1875, Imbriani wrote a study on Basile and in 1892 Croce started a "new and more genuine" edition with notes and variants. He got out only one volume. Discouraged in his project even by his friends, he turned his

attention to making a translation into Italian such as had not been done before. He dismissed with scorn the "pseudo-translation" of the eighteenth century and called the version of Ferri, published for children in 1889, a "compendio e adattamento di solo diciotto fiabe, spogliate del loro carattere originale." In making his translation, Croce used the rare original edition of 1634-36 and not the changed later editions that seem to have been used by Burton and others. He may then rightly claim that he is the author of the first complete and accurate Italian translation of the tales.

The original title of the collection was *Lo Cunto de li cunti ovvero lo trattenemiento de' peccerille*. Croce claims that this title should not be taken literally and that the tales were compiled for sophisticated and erudite men—not for children. This is borne out by the fact that the seemingly simple and familiar tales work to a very carefully contrived climax in the fiftieth—the subtlest artlessness of art.

Croce has avoided giving variants to these tales, stating his purpose to produce a work of art and not one of scholarship, and has confined his very adequate notes to points elucidating the text. He has, however, succeeded eminently from the standpoint of both art and scholarship, and the English reader who knows Italian will get much more of the spirit and the letter of the original compiler than if he confines himself to the Burton translation, long out of print, but now available in the Black and Gold Library of Boni and Liveright.

The collection is beautifully printed on excellent paper, with a portrait of Basile as a frontispiece. The tales are preceded by a *discorso* on Basile by Croce and followed by a convenient alphabetical index of the notes. There is a separate index to the contents of each volume.

F. A. G. COWPER

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1. *Anthologie des Troubadours, XII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Introduction, traductions et notes*, par ALFRED JEANROY. Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, n.d. (1927). Pp. 160.
2. *Anthologie des Troubadours*. Par JOSEPH ANGLADE. Paris: Boccard, n.d. (1927). Pp. 185.
3. *Nouvelle Anthologie des Troubadours*. Par JEAN AUDIAU. *Revue et accompagnée d'un glossaire et d'un index*, par RENÉ LAVAUD. Paris: Delagrave, 1928. Pp. 398.

For more than a century, if one wished for an introduction to the troubadours and their poetry, one has had to turn to German or Italian publications. French scholars, though they have contributed immensely to our knowledge of these subjects, have been content to use the older collections of Raynouard and Rochegude. This condition has now been completely changed. Within

the last two years no less than three anthologies have appeared, differing in scope and aim, but all distinguished by sound scholarship, taste, and discretion.

The first, by the dean of medieval lyric scholars, is the most modest. It is a collection of prose translations of seventy songs, representing forty-eight troubadours, extremely well chosen to illustrate the variety and abundance of the medieval Provençal lyric. The translations are based, for the most part, on critical editions of the texts, and are, naturally, as accurate as possible. To those of us who remember the exquisite lyric quality of the few songs that he translated for the *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France* it will seem regrettable that M. Jeanroy did not favor us with a few verse translations. The beauty of Provençal song is almost purely formal, and that necessarily evaporates in a prose rendering. Moreover, the appearance of the volume is hardly worthy of its content. The paper is cheap, the typography undistinguished and sometimes illegible. But anyone who wishes to get a thorough and a sound idea of the content of the troubadour lyric should begin with this volume.

In only one case do I venture to suggest a different reading and interpretation from those of the editor. The selection XXXV is a *joc partit* between Aimeric de Péguhan and Guilhem de Berguedan, beginning: *De Berguedan, d'estas doas razos*. In the last four lines of the sixth strophe,<sup>1</sup> the MSS AD have the following reading:

Que'l coreadors del caval mil-soudor  
En fo vencuz, quar no'l laisset brocar;  
Que si de prim l'agues faich enanssar,  
Cel que'l venquet fora per el sobratz.

That is: "The runner [or jockey] of the thousand-dollar horse was beaten because he didn't give it the spur; but if he had made it take the lead at the start, the winner would have been beaten by him." This text seems in every way preferable, expressing as it does a race-course commonplace, to the puzzling *cors d'En Ot* of the other MSS.

Number 2 is typographically the most satisfying of the three anthologies—a really handsome volume. It consists of selections from twenty troubadours, with an anonymous *aube* and *ballade*, arranged in chronological order, with prose translations at the bottom of the page. Some lines of biographical information are supplied for each troubadour. The selections are chosen in such a way as to give a fairly representative idea of each poet's style. No important troubadour is omitted. The texts are taken, mainly, from critical editions, and are accurately translated.

This anthology contains a comparatively large number of selections from a troubadour too little known, Peire Cardinal, and these are especially welcome. But it is a pity that M. Anglade did not utilize Vossler's fine

<sup>1</sup> M. Jeanroy himself recognizes that the text he follows in this passage, that of Mahn and Millá, is *peu sûr*.

study of that poet.<sup>1</sup> In the case of the selection No. 5, *Un sirventes novel voil comensar*, Vossler's readings, punctuation, and interpretation are better than those of Anglade, especially for the first four lines of strophe V, which should read, to agree with the general metrical formula of the piece:

Quar no mi vuelh de vos desesperar,  
Ans ai en vos mon bon esperamen,  
Que me valhatz a mon trespasamen,  
Per que devetz m'arm' e mon cors salvar.

In some cases M. Anglade has taken his texts directly from Raynouard or Rohegude, without verifying the readings from the MSS. For the selections from Aimeric de Péguhan I am able to suggest the following emendations, all taken from the MSS:

I (*De fin' amor comenson mas cansos*), strophe II, verse 4, read, with all the MSS except C:

Et us non a de poder que lieys vensa.

Verses 7-8, read, likewise with all the MSS but C:

Pero no'm vol ges solament ausir,  
Aman me fai languen piegz de morir.

Strophe IV, verse 8, read, with the MSS AIKN:

Quar encaus so que no aus cosseguir.

Strophe V, verse 5, read, with the MSS ACEIKN, *preian* for *preiar*.

II (*Domna, per vos estauc en greu tormen*): This piece has been critically edited twice, by Bartsch-Horning and by Crescini. The variants from the Anglade text are not important; but Strophe II, verse 4, read *qu'ie'us* for *qu'ieu*; Strophe III, verse 2, read:

Senher, anatz de sai! Qui vos rete?

Strophe V, verse 3, read *que'ns* for *que'm*.

III (*Selh que s'irais ni guerrey' ab Amor*), Strophe I, verse 3: The majority of the MSS (IKMNOPQ) read:

Qu'hom a de guerra tart pro e tost dan.

Strophe II, verse 6, read, with AJ, *mals* for *mal*; Strophe III, verse 2, read, with AJMP, *car* for *pros*; Strophe III, verse 6, read, with all the MSS but C, *ferm* for *gen*; Strophe III, verse 8, read, with AIKJMNOPU, *esmendar* for *comensar*. Strophe IV, verse 2, read, with AJM:

Ab que ja puous non agues mais aitan.

Strophe V, verse 3, read, with AIKJN:

E s'ieu ren dic que sia benestan.

Strophe V, verse 7, read, with AIKJMNOP:

Pro n'ai cambi, segon lo mieu servir.

<sup>1</sup> Published in the *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil. und hist. Klasse, Jahrgang, 1916, 6. Abhandlung.

Strophe VI, verse 3, read, with AIKJPU:

A cui servon Latin et Alaman.

Strophe VI, verses 7-8, read, with AIKJNP:

Sen e saber, conoissens' e chausir,  
Ric de ric cor per bon pretz conquerir.

The following typographical errors in the texts have been noted: page 18, line 7, for *l'Amor* read *d'Amor*; page 66, line 2, for *tobra* read *tolra*; page 79, line 2, for *an* read *anc*.

Number 3, though the most ambitious, is, in my opinion, the least successful of our anthologies. This is probably due to the fact that it was planned and partly finished by one scholar<sup>1</sup> and then completed by another. In its present form it consists of a short Introduction on the different *genres* of the troubadour lyric, followed by the anthology proper—eighty poems with translations and a short biographical note for each troubadour. These are divided into *genres* as follows: (1) *chansons courtoises*, i.e., courtly love lyrics, Nos. 1-25; (2) *chansons humoristiques et chansons de croisade*,<sup>2</sup> Nos. 26-32; (3) *sirventés*, Nos. 33-45; (4) *tençons et jeux partis*, Nos. 46-51; (5) *complaintes*, Nos. 52-58; (6) *aubes*,<sup>3</sup> Nos. 59-65; (7) *romances et pastourelles*,<sup>4</sup> Nos. 66-77; (8) *ballades et danses*, Nos. 78-80.

Audiau's work ended here; the rest of the volume is by M. Lavaud. It comprises a Bibliography, a *Glossaire analytique*, and two indexes. It is difficult to understand the exact nature of the *Glossaire analytique*. It consists of a few words or locutions, chosen more or less at random from each selection, and translated or explained in French. These notes are generally quite elementary, but some difficult passages (e.g., XIV, 38) are left unexplained. The editor seems to have fallen between two stools, in seeking to unite notes and glossary. He has given neither a complete glossary nor an adequate annotation.

The constitution and interpretation of the texts are, for the most part, accurate and exact; but the following suggestions may not be amiss.

<sup>1</sup> Jean Audiau died October 10, 1927, aged only twenty-nine, as a result of wounds received during the World War. A native of the Limousin, he was early attracted to the study of the troubadours. He had published an edition of the troubadours of Ussel and of the Provençal *pastourelles*, a study of the troubadours and England, and several papers in local journals. All who knew him—and I count myself honored by his friendship—admired his learning, his generosity, his courage, and his wit. His loss, in the field of his chosen studies, will long be felt.

<sup>2</sup> A heterogeneous group, in which No. 26 (Arnaut de Tintignac, *En esmai et en cossier*) is decidedly out of place. It is an ordinary love lyric. And the only true *chanson de croisade* is No. 31 (Jaucelm Faidit, *Ara nos sia guita*).

<sup>3</sup> Extremely welcome is the reprint here of the beautiful *aube* by Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, *Gaita be, gaiteta del chastel* (No. 63), hitherto accessible only in a Catalan publication.

<sup>4</sup> All *pastourelles*—a too numerous representation of this rather insipid and conventional genre.

VI, 11-14: Appel's punctuation and interpretation<sup>1</sup> of these lines are undoubtedly preferable to those adopted by the editor.

IX, 41. *Del mal pes que'm desenansa*: This line is omitted in the translation.

XXV, 16. *Que si'us plasia*: M. Lavaud has here changed the reading *si'l*, found in all the MSS, to *si'us*, to avoid a difficulty of interpretation. This seems to me a questionable procedure.

XXVII: This piece by Raimbaut d'Orange, *Assatz sai d'amor ben parlar*, has now been edited in part by Appel,<sup>2</sup> whose readings are in many cases preferable to those adopted by Audiau. So, for example, verses 17-20, read, with Appel:

Si voletz domnas gazaïnar,  
Que queretz que'us fassan honors,  
Si'us fan avol respos avar,  
Vos las prenetz a menassar.

Verse 25, read:

Ancar vos voil mais enseïnar.

Verse 35, read:

Per so car no m'agrad' amar.

Verses 43-44, read:

No'n fassaz re que nesi's par;  
Mas so qu'eu enseng, tenez car.

LXXIV, 10-14, are omitted entirely in the translation.

The following corrections or additions to the *Glossaire analytique* suggest themselves:

I, 17: As Gregory VII was not canonized until 1606, he cannot possibly be the *sanh Gregori* of William of Poitou. No doubt St. Gregory the Great is intended.

VI, 44. "*Saus ni sas, sauf et sain, de sal ou sau et de sa ou sal*": This note is far from clear and in part inaccurate, unless the second *sal* is a misprint for *san*.

VII, 65; X, 57: Neither *Bel Vezzer* nor *Cortes* nor *Tristan* (*senhals* of Bernart's patrons or patronesses) can be identified with certainty (see Appel's ed., pp. XLVII-XLVIII).

X, 24. "*Narcisus*, Narcisse, personnage mythologique": Explanation which does not explain the allusion.

XII, 10. "*Seguis Valensa*, Séguin Valensa, héros d'un roman d'amour": As the forms indicate, Séguin is the hero and Valensa the heroine of this hypothetical *roman d'amour*.

<sup>1</sup> See his edition of Bernart de Ventadorn, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> "Raimbaut von Orange," *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, neue Folge*, XXI, 2 (Berlin, 1928), 40-41.



XXII, 79: *Na Maria* was more probably the patroness than the *dame chantée* of Jaucelm Faidit.

XXVII, 43: Instead of the far-fetched emendation suggested in this note, it is better to keep to Appel's text, mentioned above.

XLII, 61. *Anc Rainartz d'Insengrin no's saup tan gent venjar*: No explanation of this allusion is given by the editor.

XLV, 55-60:

Mas sai son en cossir  
Del mon quossi lur sia,  
Ni cum en Frederic  
Giteason del abric;  
Pero tals l'aramic  
Qu'anc fort no s'en jauzie.

The translation of this passage from Peire Cardinal is correct, but the historical note is inexact. *Tals*, verse 59, refers to the pope, Gregory IX, and the date is approximately 1230 (see Vossler, *Peire Cardinal*, pp. 179-80).

XLIX, 19: The emendation suggested, *lo comandar* for *o comandar*, is unnecessary.

LIV, 74 (Giraut de Borneil):

E'l sanhs vas en qu'el fo pauzatz  
(Qu'eu'l vi baizar molt humilmen),  
Li sia en loc de bon garen.

The editor explains: "le saint tombeau, parce qu'il a été béni par les prêtres, et parce qu'il est en grande vénération: le poète a vu des gens le baiser fort humblement et dévotement." But the *sanhs vas* is very evidently the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem, kissed by Adhémar de Limoges (and not by *des gens*) when he was on crusade.

LV, 44: The correction proposed is again unnecessary.

In the texts there are several confusing misprints, not corrected in the list of errata (p. 396). Such are:

- XIX, 51, for *moupro* read *mon pro*.
- XXVI, 9, for *m'air* read *m'air*
- XXXVIII, 30, for *die* read *dic*.
- XXXIX, 49, for *ayetz* read *avetz*.
- XXXIX, 79, for *plancae pon* read *planca e pon*.
- XL, 36, for *abre* read *alre*.
- XLII, 7, for *Mon* read *Non*.
- LV, 22, for *non* read *no'm*.
- LXXII, 41, for *asquest* read *aquest*.
- LXXVI, 30, for *Eg* read *Ez*.
- LXXXVI, 39, for *perden* read *perd en*.
- LXXX, 12, for *no n'a* read *non a* (and keep Audiau's translation).

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*The Book of the Ordre of Chyualry.* Translated and printed by WILLIAM CAXTON. . . . Edited by ALFRED T. P. BYLES. 1926. Pp. lxxviii+143.

*The Folewer to the Donet.* By REGINALD PECOCK. Now first edited . . . by ELSIE VAUGHAN HITCHCOCK. 1924. Pp. lxxx+263.

*The Reule of Crysten Religioun.* By REGINALD PECOCK. Now first edited . . . by WILLIAM CABELL GREET. 1927. Pp. xxxi+539.

*The Pastime of Pleasure.* By STEPHEN HAWES. A literal reprint of the earliest complete copy (1517) . . . by WILLIAM EDWARD MEAD. 1928. Pp. cxvi+259.

*The Famous Historie of Chinon of England.* By CHRISTOPHER MIDDLETON. To which is added *The Assertion of King Arthure*. Translated by RICHARD ROBINSON from Leland's *Assertio Inclytissimi Arturii*. Together with the Latin original. Edited . . . by WILLIAM EDWARD MEAD. 1925. Pp. lxxviii+85+xiii+155.

*The Eclogues of Alexander Barclay.* . . . Edited . . . by BEATRICE WHITE. 1928. Pp. lxv+272.

[All at] London: Published for the Early English Text Society by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press; New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch.

Our debt to the Early English Text Society could hardly be more adequately emphasized than it is by the series of volumes added in recent years to its long list of publications. Its range has always been wide, including works valuable for both language and literature from the earliest period to the Elizabethan age. Recently the Society has been performing a great service to students of the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance by the publication of the writings of such men as Pecock, Caxton, and Hawes. Though these men cannot be said to represent the New Learning, their work reveals a spirit that made the conquest of England by the New Learning a natural one. Pecock's ideas illustrate the liberal aspect of English culture in his day, and Caxton and his patrons reflect the social and moral idealism of a slightly later day in their selection of books from the storehouse of the Middle Ages.

The most recent Caxton book issued is the *Ordre of Chyualry*, a reprint of Caxton's translation published between 1483 and 1485. At the foot of the pages the text of Loutfut's Scottish transcript is given also, with significant variants from three French manuscripts of the work. In an Introduction Professor Byles deals ably with the history of the treatise. Composed, as he shows, by Ramón Lull about 1300, it was destined to have a wide circulation. Many manuscripts of the French version are extant, dating from the end of

the fourteenth century to the end of the fifteenth. In Great Britain, besides the versions printed by Byles, a translation into Scottish was made by Haye about 1456 (edited for the Scottish Text Society in 1914 by J. H. Stevenson). It is probable that the conception of nobility and knighthood taught in popular manuals like the *Ordre of Chyualry* and ingrained by tradition in the English gentleman had a considerable and long-continued influence on English culture. At any rate, before the courtesy-books of Italy spread over the west of Europe, many of their ideals were being inculcated by such books as Lull's. He emphasizes virtue as a basis of true nobility, urges the duty of the knight to both state and king, and stresses, in addition to religion, the social and politic virtues drawn from Greek ethics—justice, prudence, liberality, courage, temperance, and so forth. He remains, however, a firm supporter of the aristocratic system and a believer in the value of noble birth. Among the knightly patrons and friends of Caxton were notable exponents of such ideals, none more brilliant than Rivers, who translated some of the earliest ethical treatises published by Caxton. Significantly, Caxton dedicated to Richard III his translation of Lull's work, with an epilogue praising its aims and urging the revival of chivalry. This revival was fostered by Henry VIII so far as pageantry and forms of chivalry were concerned, and Elyot in the *Governour*, practically discarding the early humanistic theory of true nobility as based solely on virtue and learning, advanced a conception which, like Lull's and Caxton's, keeps the combination of an aristocratic and a moral point of view without doing violence to the new ideals of humanistic education.

Pecock's works published in recent years by the Society are the *Folewer to the Donet*, edited by Miss Hitchcock from the unique copy in Royal MS 17 D. ix in the British Museum, and the *Reule of Crysten Religioun*, edited by Mr. Greet from the unique MS 519 in the Morgan Library. In an Introduction Miss Hitchcock makes a very full study of the manuscript of the *Folewer* and of Pecock's language and style, and in the notes she adds valuable material on the background of Pecock's ethical and psychological ideas. Mr. Greet's Introduction, though brief, is competent. The appearance of these two volumes completes the publication of Pecock's extant works. Babington edited the *Repressor* for the "Rolls Series" in 1860, J. L. Morison the *Book of Faith* in 1909, and Miss Hitchcock the *Donet* for the Early English Text Society in 1918. Though the five extant books represent only a fragment of Pecock's total work, they give him an important place in the history of English thought. Babington long ago emphasized the fact that Pecock stood "halfway between the Church of Rome and the Church of England as they now exist" and was opposed to "puritanism, in all its phases." His writings, particularly the *Reule*, make it clear that he was in many respects a forerunner of the English reformers and humanists. From the point of view of the new literary awakening he is not significant except in his use of the English language for the spread of his ideas. Indeed, trained under scholasticism and remaining under the spell of categories and logical subtleties, he shows no inter-

est in "eloquence," and even condemns poetry. But in social, ethical, and religious fields he anticipates much of the humanistic way of thinking. Fundamental for Pecoock, as for many a later English writer on morals, religion, education, and politics, is a rationalistic philosophy which exalts the power of man to guide his conduct and to build his institutions according to the laws of nature. Like Elyot and other supporters of monarchy, and like Hooker and other supporters of the English-church polity, he believed in ancient institutions as built on natural laws observable in the universe. His approval of princes is evident in his discussion of their duty to the people they govern. According to his theory, God left the organization of the church to the apostles and approved their work. Pecoock regarded it as the function of the upper classes to rule, and for him the bishop was a governor. In the reaction against Lollardism he not only supported institutions like the papacy and the order of friars but accepted the bishops as political leaders as well. Being a consistent rationalist, however, he was also a reformer. He would reform monasticism. He condemned superstitious practices, unreasonable faith grounded on the allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures, and bad examples in the stories of saints' lives. Virtue, he argued, is dependent on the free will, and grace merely assists the religious man. For him prayers could not take the place of works. Virtuous deeds secure a future life in heaven and a fulfilment of all man's powers, including those of the senses. Further, a deed is virtuous according as it is based on the "doom of reason." There is no virtue in unreasoning ignorance, a principle still vital for Milton. Knowledge, indeed, is the basis for the attainment both of the moral life and of the love of God. Accordingly, Pecoock approved the revision of doctrine by the discovery of new truth. Like Colet he brought the historical spirit to the interpretation of the Scriptures. The account in Genesis he believed to be based on the writings of earlier religious men. In the same spirit he denied the authority of fathers like Augustine coming after the apostolic age in questions that could be dealt with on the basis of reason. An attitude that has been emphasized as important in Vives and Jonson (see Simpson, *Modern Language Review*, II, 209-10) is apparent in Pecoock's statement in the *Folewer* (pp. 65, 151) that "Aristotil made not filosofie" but was "a laborer to knowe þe troupis of filosofie as opire men weren." The temper of the Renaissance is felt too in Pecoock's admission, though grudgingly made, that fame and praise may be pursued by the deserving if they are used in the service of God. Perhaps through the young men who, according to report, admired him, he contributed very directly to the advance of English liberalism.

Of the two volumes edited by Professor Mead, both important for the student of the sixteenth century, Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure* is significant for its reflection of moral, poetic, and educational ideals at the end of the reign of Henry VII. Distinctly a survival of old traditions in most respects—in allegorical form and poetic technique, in its educational and ethical categories, and in its portrayal of chivalry and court-of-love conventions—it suggests the

coming age in the aspects of the passing age on which its stress falls—in the idealization of the active rather than the contemplative life, in the educational program for the young knight, and in the importance put upon rhetoric in his studies. Professor Mead's text is a reprint of the earliest complete edition left, with variant readings from other early editions. His survey of the editions and copies, which includes facsimiles of title-pages and colophons, supplements that in the *Short-Title Catalogue*. There are in addition valuable studies of the life of Hawes, of his language and meter, and of the relation of his poem to other educational allegories and to the rhetorical system of the Middle Ages.

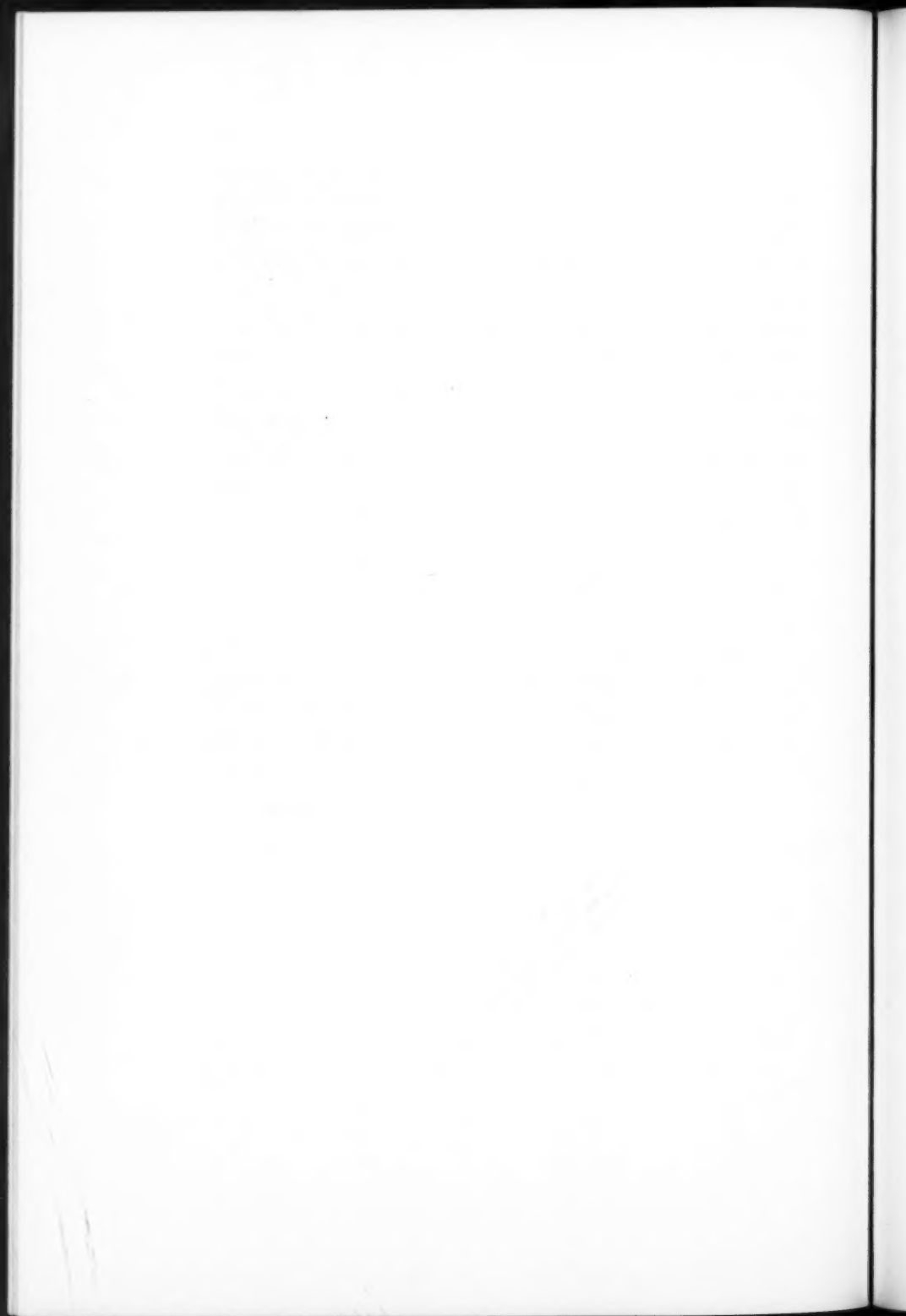
The volume containing two rare works in the Arthurian field, Middleton's *Chinon* and Robinson's translation of Leland's *Assertio*, which appear in modern editions for the first time, represents in another way the close relation of the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. The texts have evidently been prepared with care. In the Introduction to *Chinon* there is an essay on the survival of the motives of metrical romances with special reference to Arthurian material. Professor Mead does not attempt to be exhaustive, but in dealing with certain incidents in *Chinon* he was especially unfortunate in not recognizing their relation to the *Old Wives Tale* and *Comus*, a relation since discussed by Professor Brie in *Palaestra* (*Anglica*, II, 118-43; for the kinship with Drury's *Alfredus* see E. A. Hall's article in *Manly Anniversary Studies*, pp. 140-44). A brief introduction to the second part of the volume gives all that is essential in regard to the history of Leland's *Assertio* and Robinson's translation. In a note on page 153 dealing with the marginal annotations of Robinson's work, the editor was again unfortunate in ascribing them to Robinson. Since his volume was prepared for the press, Robinson's *Eupolemia* has been printed by Vogt (*Studies in Philology*, XXI, 629-48), and from it we learn that "the annotations of Mr. Stephen Batman Parson of Newington Buttes" were printed in Robinson's translation of the *Assertio* (p. 635).

In Barclay's *Eclogues*, recently issued by the Society in an edition by Miss White, we have a work which reflects the influence of the New Learning in both form and content. Its use of the pastoral convention has long been recognized as an important early experiment in the introduction of classical types into English verse. Barclay's reliance on Aeneas Silvius and Mantuan for most of the material connects him closely with the more advanced humanism of Italy. The stock themes—the evils of court and city life and the decline of patronage—gave opportunity to Aeneas Silvius, Mantuan, Barclay, and many later writers for detailed satire on the ills of contemporary society. By adding sometimes minor details and sometimes long passages to his borrowed material, Barclay directed his satire more specifically against aspects of English life. His picture of the hardships endured by the common man in England and his attacks on evil vicars keep the spirit of his originals. Less harmonious, though appropriate for the pastoral form which he chose, are the

passages eulogizing the Tudor monarchs and Morton, Alcock, and the Howards. There has long been need of a competent edition of the *Eclogues*, and in some important respects Miss White's fills that need. A new study is made of Barclay's life with especial emphasis on his personal experiences and his attitudes to his contemporaries as revealed in the *Eclogues*; the earliest text to include all five eclogues is reprinted—that published by Cawood in 1570—with variant readings from some of the incomplete editions that preceded; and the bulk of the source material is printed at the foot of the text. Miss White's edition is not a finished piece of work, however, even if we disregard a few debatable points in her discussion. The vital matter of the text is handled in a strangely haphazard fashion. According to her statement on page lvii in regard to early forms in which parts of the work appeared, there are editions of the first three eclogues; but nothing further is said of the first two cited. The *Short-Title Catalogue* fails to list either, unless the anonymous edition to which Miss White refers is the one assigned in the *Catalogue* to Wynken de Worde about 1515 and recorded for the Huntington Library. Miss White does not mention this copy, though in the case of Pynson's edition of the fourth eclogue she gives a few variant readings from the unique copy in the Huntington. In the notes, variant readings are given from Powell's edition for the first three eclogues, and from Wynken de Worde's for the fifth, and a short fragment found in the British Museum is quoted in full. The relation of the texts does not come up for consideration, nor the bearing of the problem on the dates of the individual eclogues, nor its consequent significance for the biographical material discussed so fully in the Introduction. Minor inconsistencies need not be stressed, but they are constant, as in the citation of Jamieson's edition of the *Ship of Fools* sometimes by page alone and sometimes correctly with both volume and page reference. An index is needed, too, especially since many points are discussed in the Introduction and in the notes without cross-references.

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## BRIEFER MENTION

*Bulletin 4* of the Linguistic Society of America (obtainable from Professor Roland G. Kent, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia) contains a full report, by Hans Kurath, of a conference held at Yale University August 2 and 3 last, to discuss the project, sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies, of a linguistic atlas of the United States and Canada. Some fifty specialists were present at the invitation of the Council, including representatives of the American Dialect Society and of the G. & C. Merriam Company, of Springfield, Massachusetts, publishers of *Webster's Dictionary*. With Professor Karl Young presiding, the conference discussed the project from several angles: (1) the effect of movements of population on dialect; (2) the use of mechanical methods of recording speech; (3) the relative importance of pronunciation, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary in constructing a dialect atlas; (4) definition of the purpose of the project; (5) organization of a central dépôt for the preservation of records; (6) training needed by the director and his assistants; (7) are class dialects to be treated along with local dialects? (8) area of the proposed inquiry; (9) treatment of foreign-language areas and of the American Indian languages. Opinion was unanimous that substantial progress had been made in clarifying the objectives of the project, while deep appreciation was expressed of the initiative and practical sense of the officers of the American Council of Learned Societies in promoting a work of such profound significance for the history of American speech and American civilization.—T. A. J.

Professor R. E. Zachrisson describes his study of *Romans, Kelts and Saxons in Ancient Britain* (Upsala, 1927) as "an investigation into the two dark centuries [400-600] of English history." In the main, however, it is rather a conspectus of the original sources (Gildas, Nennius, the Anglo-Saxon chronicle) for the history of the period, and a summary of the views of writers who have recently dealt with the subject, coupled with some discussion of the evidence afforded by place-names. Professor Zachrisson's conclusions, which he emphasizes by spaced type on page 36, are by no means novel: "According to my views the Kelts were neither exterminated nor allowed to remain in their hilltop camps, they were absorbed and amalgamated with the Anglo-Saxon conquerors." This is no doubt true, but the actual conditions must have varied greatly in different parts of the country. There are two factors in the amalgamation on which Professor Zachrisson does not lay sufficient stress. One is that during the protracted period of the conquest there must have been times when the Britons and the invaders lived close to each other without

engaging in active hostilities. The other is that absence of linguistic evidence proves nothing, in view of the absolute indifference which the English-speaking population of Britain (even when mainly of Celtic origin) has always shown to Welsh and Gaelic. The two appendixes on "Place-Names Containing O.E. *Wealh*, *Weall*, *Weala*-" and "Survivals of Roman-British Place-Names" are useful collections of material bearing on the subject.—W.A.C.

The Manchester University Press now offers Professor Sedgefield's *Anglo-Saxon Verse-Book* and *Anglo-Saxon Prose-Book* in one volume (*An Anglo-Saxon Book of Verse and Prose*. Manchester, 1928.) The book makes an excellent anthology of Old English literature. One might wonder why passages from *Beowulf* are included, since presumably students able to read this volume will read all of *Beowulf*. In the space thus used Genesis B or some other text might have been included. But otherwise, within the limits of his space, Professor Sedgefield has included the best pieces of poetry. His selection of prose texts is notably attractive, including interesting documents under the headings "Law," "Land Tenure," "Wills," and "Charters." The volume includes comprehensive notes, glossaries, and an Appendix on Anglo-Saxon versification.—J. R. H.

Under the general editorship of the late Georges Dottin the collaborators of the "Annales de Bretagne" (now in their forty-first year) have presented an honorary volume to the dean of French Celticists, Joseph Loth, *Mélanges Bretons et Celtiques* (Rennes and Paris, 1927. Pp. vii+428). There are fifty-two articles, mostly concerned with Brittany and the Breton language, but of which some twelve or more should interest the specialist in medieval French literature and linguistics. Miss Mary Williams, under "Arthuriana," comes to the support of the Welsh legends in the formation of the *matière de Bretagne*. She attaches the mysterious boat found in the prose *Perceval*, the *Vengeance Raguidel* and the Gauchier continuation, to a current Welsh legend reproduced also in the *Mirabilia* of Nennius. Under the same general heading, P. Diverres suggests tentatively that the struggle of Arthur against the marvelous Cat, the *Cath Paluc* of Irish Legend (see the *Livre d'Arthur*), took place at Liman (Monmouthshire) and not on Lake Lemán (Switzerland). E. Philipot, in "Contes Bretons relatifs à la Légende de Merlin," studies the three Breton tales which mention Merlin; he finally proposes a continental origin for the name *Merlin*, discarding the well-known hypothesis of Gaston Paris. In an article, rather brief for the ground he professes to cover, W. Thomas examines "Les Influences irlandaises dans la littérature d'Outre Manche." M. Thomas asserts that the Irish monks in Great Britain had great influence in the formation of Anglo-Saxon literature. After 1066, Welsh relations were more powerful than the Irish. In the Elizabethan period Spencer, in the physical setting of his *Faerie Queen*, alone shows Irish traits, but at the close of the seventeenth century Ireland once more came into her own in England. Georges Dottin,

in his article, "Sur les Noms d'Animaux dans l'onomastique gauloise," examines the proper names constructed from continental Celtic \**alcos*, 'wild ox'; \**bebro*s, 'beaver'; *marca*, 'horse'; *matu*-, 'bear'; \**lukos*, 'wolf'; *mocco*s, 'pig'; *brano*-, 'crow'; \**loverno*-, 'fox'; *gabro*-, 'goat'; *epo*- and *mandu*-, 'horse'; and *tarvos*, 'bull.'

Of further importance are "L'Imitation et les Souvenirs d'Horace chez Marbode, évêque de Rennes" (E. Galletiera), "Sur le français de Basse-Bretagne" (J. Buléon), and "L'Influence française sur l'orthographe du *Livre noir* de Cherk" (Morgan Watkin). In this last, I believe that the conclusions are occasionally strained. "La Croyance au Répit périodique des Damnés dans les légendes irlandaises" (Dom L. Gougaud) is interesting for what it has to say on the Brendan legend and similar material. There are, in addition, six articles which concern the Old Irish philologist.—URBAN T. HOLMES.

Attilio Momigliano, in his *Saggio su l'Orlando Furioso* (Bari: Laterza, 1928. Pp. 361), collects and elaborates the substance of half-a-dozen articles he has published during the past four years, chief among them his "La realtà e il sogno nell'*Orlando Furioso*," which appeared in *Giornale Storico* ..., Volume LXXXVI (1925).

He divides his material into five books: Libro I, "Il meraviglioso, fondo del poema ..."; Libro II, "Il nobile amore, argomento dominante del poema ..."; Libro III, "Gli amori volgari ..."; Libro IV (i), "La guerra è l'ordito del poema, non l'anima ..."; (ii), "L'eroe epico del *Furioso* ..."; Libro V, "*L'Orlando Furioso*" (as a whole, in seven different aspects). Of these five books, the second takes up more than half the volume; discussing one by one ten of the most striking themes of sentiment or passion in the poem (beginning with Orlando's tragic devotion to Angelica, and ending with "L'episodio di Gabrina, rovescio e compimento degli episodi sentimentali e cavallereschi del poema"), Momigliano emphasizes the idealism, or at least the seriousness, implicit in each. Here, as elsewhere in the work, he is combating a well-known point of view; but unfortunately neither in this section nor, as far as one remembers, in any other (save, for a passing mention, on p. 327, of the name De Sanctis) does he cite a single study or opinion other than his own. De Sanctis had written: "L'ironia è nella concezione fondamentale del poema. ... Un riso scettico aleggia sulle virtù cavalleresche ... non è alcuna serietà di vita interiore ... e non onore e non amore ... etc." (See, e.g., Campari e Ottolini: *Orlando Furioso ... con un saggio critico di Francesco De Sanctis* [Milano, 1926], pp. xlviii-xlix.) Momigliano makes no reference to any such passages; but he comes, quite convincingly, to the opposite conclusion (p. 327): "La materia dominante del *Furioso* è d'una grande serietà morale: amore delle bellezze, della beltà, del coraggio. ..."

His other main thesis is at variance, in regard to Rodomonte, with such views as that of Flamini, who saw in the pagan warrior merely "un bruto, nè più nè meno, sotto le spoglie del *miles gloriosus*" (*Il Cinquecento* [Milano,

1901], p. 77). According to Momigliano, on the other hand, "L'eroe epico è Rodomonte, l'eroe sentimentale è Orlando" (p. 288); and here, too, he has made out a surprisingly plausible—though not an entirely convincing—case.

Libro III brings out particularly the differences and distinctions that are present even in the *amori volgari* scattered through the poem. The ingenuous, almost innocent, sensuality of Fiordispina is, it notes, quite different from the more sophisticated though still naïve lasciviousness of Fiammetta. Ariosto described both of them without repugnance, though they are clearly far removed from the *nobili amori* he admired. For venal loves, on the other hand, the poet showed evident dislike (Argia, Anselmo); for those which lead to criminal violence (Gabrina), he expressed the utmost horror. To Momigliano, Ariosto, in spite of his occasional irony, is essentially no cynic.

Minor points of interest in the volume are: the suggestion (p. 215 and *passim*) that "non è vero che l'Ariosto abbia meno sentimento del Tasso ..."; the emphasis on Ariosto's marvelous originality, even when most closely following, externally, Ovid or Vergil (pp. 189, 199); the frequent parallels drawn between the *Orlando Furioso* and the painting and sculpture of the century (pp. 52, 114, 186, 265 . . .); etc. And it is noteworthy that Momigliano's appreciation of the many-sided genius of Ariosto is made more striking by his constant reference to the poet's weaknesses (pp. 36, 86, 126–27, 130, 133, 139, 140, 174, 181, 216, etc.). He can speak of one passage in the poem, for example, as "una brutta rassegna storica, una delle parentesi che deturpano il *Furioso* ..." (contrast with this, e.g., G. Bertoni, *Lodovico Ariosto* [Roma, 1925], p. 26: "Essendo il *Furioso* quasi tutto egualmente bello ...").

With some of the ideas in the book, inevitably, one cannot agree. The statement, for instance, that Olimpia, Isabella, and Fiordiligi are so similar as to be interchangeable is disputed, not only by such analyses as that of Bertoni (*op. cit.*, pp. 31–32), but also by Momigliano's own suggestions elsewhere (pp. 156, 180). Again, the contention that Rodomonte is the epic hero of the poem, despite the soundness of his rehabilitation, urges a good point rather overfar. Furthermore, the book is quite uneven as to clarity and sequence of ideas: at the top of page 22, for example, the transition is perplexingly abrupt; and Libro V, as a whole, is patchy and ill unified. There is also that unfortunate lack of references to other studies—or, indeed, to anything outside the *Furioso* itself—which has already been remarked. In spite of certain evident weaknesses, however, Momigliano's volume stands out as one of the most interesting and stimulating essays on the *Orlando Furioso* since the judgment of De Sanctis. The only misprint obvious at first reading is note 2 on page 210, which should appear on page 211 as note 1.—WALTER L. BULLOCK.

*The Gallegos Relation of the Rodriguez Expedition to New Mexico*, by George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey ("Publications of the Historical Society of New Mexico," Santa Fé, 1927), is a translation into English of an account of

the explorations conducted in New Mexico during 1581 and 1582 by Father Agustín Rodríguez and Captain Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado, written by the notary Hernán Gallegos, himself a member of the Expedition. A little band of three friars, protected by nine soldiers, penetrated hundreds of miles up the valley of the Rio Grande, as far west as Zúñi, with a side-excursion to the plains where the buffalo grazed. Owing doubtless to their very paucity of numbers, this party succeeded, much better than the better equipped Coronado expedition, in gathering detailed information concerning the region visited. Fifty-seven pueblos were described. Gallegos lacks picturesqueness as a writer but atones for this deficiency by a gift for accurate observation. His account led directly to the permanent settlement of New Mexico. The interest of this source-work is obvious. The editors' scholarly notes elucidate all difficulties.—G. T. N.

Miss Janet Scott has given a valuable survey in her book *Les Sonnets elisabéthains: les sources et l'apport personnel* (Paris: Champion, 1929); her judgment is independent and her taste usually sure and reliable. She is, however, principally concerned with estimating the originality of individual sonneteers, and in showing where and how each borrowed. The late Sir Sidney Lee in his well-known edition of the Elizabethan sonnets claimed that there was very little originality to be found in the English sonnet, and by process of quoting a number of sonnets which had been translated alongside of their originals, and by forgetting the rest, he made out a strong case. Lee, in fact, except for perfunctory praise of a few of the most popular sonnets, saw nothing to admire in the movement; even in *Astrophel and Stella* he believed that "the imitative quality" was "visible throughout Sidney's ample effort, and destroys most of those specious pretensions to autobiographic confessions which the unwary reader may discern in them." Miss Scott has a far keener sense of values and her book will be of considerable use to literary students, though the English reader is handicapped and not a little exasperated by having to read some of the best Elizabethan sonnets in the form of prose translations in modern French. At times Miss Scott is a little summary in her pronouncements on the originality of individual sonneteers. When in Griffin's *Fidessa* occurs the line "Dumb is the message of my hidden grief" and in Daniel's *Delia* "Told the dumb message of my hidden grief," one may assume that Griffin had either a notebook, a good memory, or a copy of *Delia*. But borrowings are seldom so clear, and a critic must be very wary before making authoritative pronouncements; at a time when many poets are writing sonnets and reading each other's, phrases and themes become common property. Even deliberate plagiarism may indicate the extremes of genuine passion, for when a man is desperately in love he will often prefer exotic to home-grown flowers for his mistress' bouquet. As, however, Miss Scott in a most useful Appendix has shown in detail where each sonneteer is in debt to his predecessors, the reader can form his own conclusions. Another Appendix contains a chronolog-

ical table of the principal sonnet collections in Italian, French, and English. If Miss Scott ever publishes the book in English, she would do well to add a bibliography of modern critical works.—G. B. HARRISON.

*Nature and the Country in English Poetry of the First Half of the Eighteenth Century*, by C. E. de Haas (Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1928. Pp. 301), is a series of essays, arranged chronologically, on the chief poets from Pomfret to Gray who wrote about nature and rural life. The subject is one that calls loudly for fresh study in the light of present-day attitudes toward the eighteenth century and of the mass of new information about currents of thought and taste in that period which has been accumulating during the past decade. What is needed is an analytical and explanatory history of the cult of external nature which will distinguish carefully its various elements and attempt to trace each of them to its source in literary and philosophical traditions influential at the beginning of the century. It is evident, for example, that much that seems most novel and characteristic in the descriptive poetry of Thomson and his followers derived directly from the renewed importance given to the argument from "the Beauty, Contrivance, and Order of God's Works" by the religious propaganda of the New Science, from Boyle and Glanvill to Newton. It is evident, too, that there is a close and significant connection between the growing preference of wild to cultivated scenery and the persistent stress on the superiority of "nature" to "art" which, from the Renaissance onward, had underlain some of the most influential movements in ethical, religious, and aesthetic thought. Some hints of the new and larger perspective which would result from a detailed analysis of such factors as these have been given in several recent studies, notably in Mr. C. A. Moore's "The Return to Nature in English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century" (*Studies in Philology*, 1917) and in Miss Manwaring's *Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England* (1925). There is nothing in Dr. de Haas's book that suggests any awareness of these newer points of view. He nowhere refers to either Moore or Miss Manwaring, and he apparently thinks that he has accounted sufficiently for the movement he is studying when he has described it, in the old familiar formula, as "the harbinger of coming changes in the world of thought, the glimpse of the dawn of a new era in English poetry,—the Revival of Romanticism" (p. 39). The truth is that he has approached his subject with all the prepossessions characteristic of the scholarship of the past generation. He can still write, for instance, that it was a "maxim of the Augustans, that reason should be the all-dominating power in literary production, to the exclusion of the imaginative and emotional sides of human nature" (p. 36), that "wild scenery was either completely ignored in Gay's time, or positively disliked" (p. 76), that in the early eighteenth century the poetry of Spenser was "exclusively an object of ludicrous imitation" (p. 190), that Joseph Warton's *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* was thought to be "rather a risky undertaking" (p. 31), and that the same author's *Enthusiast* was in subject



matter a "decidedly original" poem (p. 210). It would be unfair, however, to make too much of these deficiencies in Dr. de Haas's scholarship. Historical considerations after all occupy but a secondary place in his design. What concerns him primarily is to rescue from the complete works of his twenty-five poets passages which, as he says in his concluding paragraph, "would not only interest the literary student of this particular age, but might please the lover of nature and the country of all times." This task he performs on the whole both competently and agreeably. A bad history, his book is in many respects an admirable anthology. He is most successful, as might be expected, when he has to do with poets who have received little detailed attention from earlier critics. There are several of these in his list—John Hughes, William Pattison, Matthew Green, for example—and his observations on them, the result of sympathetic and perceptive reading, are clearly the best things in the volume.

—R. S. C.

In a new book (*Modern English in the Making*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1928) Professor G. H. McKnight of Ohio State University has carried on the history of the English language from the point which he had reached at the end of his *English Words and Their Background*. This new work surveys the development of the language from Middle English to the present day. Professor McKnight traces not only the growth of the language but the attitude of those who wrote about it (the rhetoricians and grammarians as well as eminent prose writers) and the actual practice of many outstanding authors. Indeed, he has presented the history of the idea of good usage more clearly than any previous writer. Quotations from the writings of important authorities and exact analyses of their practices and those of eminent writers of fiction and criticism give the work the value of a source book. In fact, Professor McKnight's book is of unique value as a survey of the history of modern English and a point of departure for detailed research in the field.

On a subject treated cursorily by Professor McKnight—the project of an academy for the regulation of the English language—Professor H. M. Flasdieck has assembled in a volume of 246 pages an immense number of quotations from English authors from the sixteenth century to the present time (*Der Gedanke einer englischen Sprachakademie in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*. Jena, 1928). Having given these citations, the author discusses at length the relation of the history of the idea to that of culture in England and the reasons for its failure of realization.—J. R. H.

*Heine's Views on German Traits of Character* by John Ambrose Hess (New York, 1929) has little to recommend it. Mr. Hess has failed to recognize that the point of central interest in his theme is not the "German Traits" but "Heine." For, clearly, if we are primarily interested in German traits we do not restrict ourselves to Heine, since we cannot generalize on the strength of Heine alone; we simply use him as one source among many. If, instead of



arranging his material with Kuno Francke's *The German Spirit* and similar racial studies in mind, the writer had directed his attention more strenuously to Heine's personality in the hope of throwing some clearer light on it from this German angle, he would have had a better chance of success.

In style and organization—one cannot compromise—the book is inferior; it is as amorphous and barren as a thesis, nearly unreadable as a study. If Heine could return and examine the classification of German traits on page 28 (I, Uncouthness [Primitiveness], a, Bearishness . . . ; II, Slowness [of the masses], a, Asininity . . .) he would swear he was in Göttingen again and in need of another Harzreise. The references to Heine's use of antithesis (p. 147) and to his possible indebtedness to La Fontaine (pp. 32, 44) are quite suggestive, but these are scanty gleanings from a work of ten chapters.

According to information which I have received, the fourth (index) volume to Hirth's edition of Heine's letters (see p. 152) is not to appear and the new Elster edition of the works, originally announced in eight volumes, is to be completed in six. Walzel's edition, it should also be noted, has a valuable (eleventh) index volume (1920).—BARKER FAIRLEY.

Of the new series "Sächsisches Volkstum" (Leipzig: F. Brandstetter, 1928 ff.) two numbers have come to my attention: (1) Adolf Spamer, *Wesen, Wege und Zeile der Volkskunde*, and (3) *Vom sächsischen Volkslied*. Spamer gives the history, theory, aims, and status of folk-lore studies in general terms and without examining in detail particular fields such as the ballad or the *märchen*. This essay is a continuation and summary of the long-standing discussion regarding the principles and purposes of folk-lore (see E. Hoffmann-Krayer, *Die Volkskunde als Wissenschaft* [Zürich, 1902]; Strack, *Hess. Bl. f. Volksk.*, I [1902], 149–65; Dietrich, *ibid.*, pp. 169–94; Spamer, *ibid.*, XXIII [1924], 67–108). On the whole, this discussion has not been particularly fruitful for other than German readers. Spamer's remarks are, however, clear and helpful; they put one in a position to understand the true significance of this dispute about principles. His remarks on specific matters of detail are particularly useful. The fascicle devoted to folk-song serves two purposes: it is an example of a collection of folk-songs and it is at the same time an introduction to their study. The collection is important because it includes a large number of unprinted texts. I cannot but regret that reference to the standard authorities was not made easier by reference to Jungbauer's indispensable bibliography. The theoretical remarks are excellent. We have an admirable description of the differences between the song of literary origin and the folk-song. In the nature of things the older narrative ballads are scantily represented in this collection from modern oral tradition (since 1908). The booklet is, in my opinion, the best simple introduction to modern German methods in the study of folk-song.—A. T.

## DOCUMENTS AND RECORDS

### SIX UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF VOLTAIRE

Every year it becomes more and more hazardous to venture the assertion that one has discovered unpublished letters of Voltaire. Periodicals of the Old World and the New—some prominent, others obscure, some born viable, others quickly discontinued—have, since the appearance of the Moland edition of Voltaire's works, poured forth a seemingly interminable stream of Voltaire's correspondence. A scholar, especially one not within reach of the large libraries of France, can never hope to consult all the possible depositories of Voltaire *inedita*. Until some competent person undertakes to complete the task abandoned in 1914 by M. Fernand Caussy after the publication of the first volume of a proposed nine-volume *Supplément aux œuvres de Voltaire*, well-intentioned workers must continue more or less blindly to edit the letters of the Sage of Ferney which they bring to light in various corners of Europe and America.

In the present article I reproduce six autograph letters of Voltaire which, I think, have escaped the researches of my predecessors. Four of these documents are in the archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia; one is among the Charles Sumner manuscripts at Harvard University; and one is in the private collection of Professor André Morize, of Harvard University.

In addition, I have included a letter written by the Marquis d'Argens, in which Voltaire and other contemporaries of note are mentioned.

#### I. VOLTAIRE [TO GEORGE CONRAD WALTHER]

Voltaire's relations with George Conrad Walther, a publisher of Dresden, were extremely cordial. Dissatisfied with previous editions of his collected works, Voltaire lent a willing hand in the preparation of the two editions published by Walther (1748-54; 1752). The following letter is one of the most interesting written by Voltaire to his publisher.<sup>1</sup>

A POTSDAM 28 novembre  
1750

MON CHER EDATEUR. je nay travaillé que pour vous depuis que je vous ay écrit. il ny a aucune piece de ma facon que je n'aye corrigée, que je n'aye retravaillée avec soin. dites moy positivement quand vous voulez recommencer une édition nouvelle. jespere que vous prendrez autant de soin que jen prens moy

<sup>1</sup> For other letters from Voltaire to Walther, see *Correspondance* (Moland ed.), years 1747-56.

meme, que vous corrigerez vos fautes comme moy les miennes. et que vous ne vous repentirez pas de vos peines. renvoyez moy je vous en prie l'exemplaire dont vous ne faites point encor usage, et sur le quel jay fait tant de changemens.<sup>1</sup> je veux porter sur cet exemplaire tous les autres changements que j'ay faits depuis. je vous donneray encor la tragedie de rome sauvée.<sup>2</sup> j'ajouteray plusieurs chapitres historiques assez curieux. je mettray partout des renvois qui vous feront connaitre ou chaque piece doit etre placée.<sup>3</sup> enfin quand vous aurez commencé votre nouvelle edition je viendrai vous voir a dresde.<sup>4</sup> Le roy mon maitre ne pourra men refuser la permission.

jay vu dans votre catalogue des titres infames, un honnête homme ne doit pas debiter de telles marchandises. la voltaïromanie,<sup>5</sup> et les autres sottises de la canaille doivent etre brulées. ce n'est pas a vous a vous souiller de ces horreurs.

envoyez moy

les revolutions de france de la hode 3 vol<sup>6</sup>

du sisteme, avec la vie du regent 6 vol<sup>7</sup>

negociations de destrades, colbert d'avaux 9 volumes<sup>8</sup>

tout cela m'est necessaire p<sup>r</sup> l'histoire du siecle de louis 14. je ne partirai peutetre pas sitost que je croiois. je vous prie instamment de vous informer sur le champ si M le marquis des issars<sup>9</sup> a reçu une boete que je luy ay envoyée de potsdam par

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the extant copies of Walther's first edition that contain corrections and additions by the author, see G. Bengesco, *Voltaire—Bibliographie de ses œuvres*, IV (1890), 32 and 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Catalina ou Rome sauvée*, written by Voltaire in 1749, was first printed at Berlin in 1752 by Étienne Bourdeaux. The first edition published by Voltaire himself appeared at Dresden in 1753 in Walther's edition of the *Supplément au Siècle de Louis XIV. ... Rome sauvée ou Catalina* occupies pp. 81–170 of the tenth volume (1754) of Walther's first edition of Voltaire's works.

<sup>3</sup> Walther's second edition bears the same title as the first: *Œuvres de M. de Voltaire. Nouvelle édition, revue, corrigée et considérablement augmentée par l'auteur. ...* The following words in Walther's Preface to the second edition are clearly a paraphrase of Voltaire's remarks to Walther given above: "Le second tome, qui contient des chapitres curieux concernant l'histoire ..., et chaque chose y est mise à sa place et dans un bien meilleur ordre que dans toute autre édition."

<sup>4</sup> Voltaire seems not to have made this journey.

<sup>5</sup> A pamphlet against Voltaire by the Abbé Desfontaines (December, 1738).

<sup>6</sup> *Histoire des Révolutions de France, où l'on voit comment cette monarchie s'est formée et les divers changemens qui y sont arrivés. ... Par M<sup>r</sup> de la Hode* (The Hague: P. Gosse, 1738; 4 vols., 12mo.) The Catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale mentions only this edition. De la Hode's real name was La Mothe.

<sup>7</sup> *Histoire du Système des finances, sous la minorité de Louis XV, pendant les années 1719 à 1780, précédée d'un abrégé de la vie du duc régent et du sieur Law* [by Du Hautchamp] (The Hague: P. de Hondt, 1739; 6 vols., 12mo).

<sup>8</sup> *Lettres et Négociations de MM. le maréchal d'Estrades, Colbert, M<sup>s</sup> de Croissy, et C<sup>te</sup> d'Assez, ambassadeurs plénipotentiaires du roi de France à la paix de Nimègue, et les réponses et instructions du Roi et de M. de Pomponne ...* (The Hague: A. Moetjens, 1710; 3 tomes in 2 vols., 12mo. London: J. Nourse, 1743; 9 vols.; 12mo).

<sup>9</sup> Charles-Hyacinthe de Galleau, Marquis des Issarts (1716–54), was appointed French ambassador at Dresden on May 24, 1746. In 1751 he became French ambassador at Turin. The Moland edition of Voltaire's works contains two letters from Voltaire to the Marquis des Issarts (August 7, 1747; February 19, 1750).

le chariot de poste. Adieu mon cher editeur Songez je vous prie aux livres que je vous demande, et a la boete de Monsieur L'ambassadeur de France Je vous embrasse

VOLTAIRE.<sup>1</sup>

## II. [VOLTAIRE TO ALGAROTTI]

In August, 1750, one month after his arrival in Potsdam, Voltaire wrote to the Duc de Richelieu: "Maupertuis est devenu ... insociable; mais Algarotti et d'autres sont des gens de la meilleure compagnie. Que faut-il de plus à mon âge?"<sup>2</sup> The following brief note, written about July, 1751, shows that the author of *Newtonianismo per le dame* endeavored to keep his illustrious colleague supplied with Italian reading matter.

Rimando al mio caro conte il suo amoroso<sup>3</sup> e credo che domani egli andera a riveder la sua amorosa. ma che fa sta sera? dove cena? lo priego vivamente di portar seco il furioso<sup>4</sup> al suo ritorno. il pulci non puo bastar mi in vece dell'ariosto,<sup>5</sup> e nessuno potra mai tenere appresso di me luogo del mio caro conte.<sup>6</sup>

## III. VOLTAIRE TO THE COMTESSE D'ARDEMBERG

After his serio-comic adventures with Freytag and Schmid, Voltaire left Frankfort on July 7, 1753, and arrived at Strasbourg on August 16. In the course of his journey, he spent a pleasant fortnight with the Elector Palatine Charles Theodore at the latter's château of Schwetzingen.<sup>7</sup>

The addressee of the following letter was probably a member of the Hardenberg family, the most celebrated representative of which was Baron Frederick August von Hardenberg, who married Maria Anna Elizabeth von

<sup>1</sup> Autograph, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Gratz Collection, *French Authors* (4 pp.; p. 4 blank; 4to).

<sup>2</sup> Moland, XXXVII, 166. Voltaire's friendship with Algarotti lasted more than a quarter of a century.

<sup>3</sup> In view of the fact that the remainder of Voltaire's note deals with Pulci and Ariosto, it may not be too rash to conjecture that *amoroso* refers to Bolardo's *Orlando innamorato*. For evidence that Voltaire was acquainted with Bolardo, see Moland, IX, 22.

<sup>4</sup> About July, 1751, Voltaire wrote to Algarotti: "Questa bella prerogativa d'esser spesso riletto è il privilegio dell'ingegno, e quello dell'Ariosto. Io lo rileggo ogni giorno, mercè alle vostre grazie" (Moland, XXXVII, 298).

<sup>5</sup> Voltaire's admiration for Ariosto was extreme. Cf., e.g., the following words written from Potsdam to Jean-Louis-Samuel Formey in May, 1752: "... il n'y a que les ouvrages de génie qui restent. L'*Orlando furioso* a enterré plus de dix mille volumes de scolastique; aussi je lis l'Arioste." For Voltaire's opinion of Pulci and Ariosto, see Moland, Index.

<sup>6</sup> Autograph, private collection of Professor André Morize, of Harvard University (2 pp.; p. 2 blank; 4to).

<sup>7</sup> The Moland edition contains three letters written by Voltaire in 1753 "à Schwetzingen, près de Mannheim" (August 4 and 5, and s.d.). In 1758 Voltaire again visited Charles Theodore. The Moland edition contains letters written by Voltaire at Schwetzingen on various dates from July 16 to August 2, 1758. On account of the expression *obligé de retourner en France*, I am inclined to think that the letter I publish was penned during Voltaire's earlier sojourn at Schwetzingen.

Gemmingen in 1728. He was in 1753 minister of Duke Charles Eugene of Württemberg and later of Landgrave William VIII of Hesse-Cassel, both friends and correspondents of Voltaire.

A MANHEIM 30 juillet [1753]

MADAME

Ayant été obligé de retourner en France et étant tombé malade à manheim,<sup>1</sup> il n'y a point de maladie qui puisse empêcher de vous remercier de vos bontez, je n'ay eu le bonheur de vous faire ma cour qu'un instant mais je me souviendray longtemps de la bienveillance dont vous m'avez honoré. Mr. le comte d'ardemberg et vous madame vous me faites éprouver bien des regrets. recevez lun et l'autre les assurances des sentiments respectueux avec lesquels jay l'honneur d'être

Madame

Votre tres humble et tres  
obeissant serviteur

VOLTAIRE<sup>2</sup>

#### IV. LE MARQUIS D'ARGENS TO JEAN NÉAULME

Jean-Baptiste de Boyer, Marquis d'Argens (1700-1771), after curious adventures in France, Spain, Turkey, Italy, and Holland, arrived in Berlin in 1741, and remained in the service of Frederick the Great until 1768, when he returned to France. The King of Prussia appointed him chamberlain and director of fine arts, and in his private correspondence honored him with more letters than any other individual except Voltaire.

During Voltaire's stay in Germany, the Marquis d'Argens was one of his closest associates. Judging by their correspondence, uninterrupted harmony prevailed between them; in fact, with d'Argens, Voltaire invariably assumed the bantering tone of comradeship that he used only with his most intimate friends. When Voltaire decided to leave Potsdam forever, he penned to his *cher frère en Belzébuth* these words:

Frère, je prends congé de vous; je m'en sépare avec regret. Votre frère vous conjure, en partant, de repousser les assauts du démon, qui voudrait faire pendant mon absence ce qu'il n'a pu faire quand nous avons vécu ensemble; il n'a pu semer la zizanie. ...<sup>3</sup>

The letter published below is of especial interest on account of the references it contains not only to Voltaire, but to other friends of d'Argens, to friends of the years he spent in Holland—Jean Néaulme,<sup>4</sup> Élie de Joncourt, Prosper Marchand, and Pierre Paupie.

<sup>1</sup> In letters written at Schwetzingen in both 1753 and 1758, Voltaire complains of poor health.

<sup>2</sup> Autograph, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dreer Collection, *French Prose Writers* (4 pp.; last three pages blank, 4to).

<sup>3</sup> Moland, XXXVIII, 10. Voltaire's farewell to d'Argens was written about March 26, 1753.

<sup>4</sup> Néaulme (1724-73), to whom d'Argens' letter is addressed, was a *libraire-éditeur* at Amsterdam, with branch establishments at The Hague, Paris, and Berlin. He specialized in rare books, and also published the works of contemporary authors.

Je renvoie ches vous monsieur les deux letres de mr de voltaire;<sup>1</sup> je les ai montrée au roy,<sup>2</sup> parcequ'il me les à demandées; car d'ailleurs je vous dirai que je n'entre pas volontiers dans les disputes des auteurs et des libraires.<sup>3</sup> je nai aucun sujet de me plaindre de mr de voltaire; ni aucune raison pour m'ingérer de condaner sa conduite; si elle est bonne tant mieux pour luy, si elle est mauvaise tanpis.

le roy m'a remis la letre que vous luy aves ecrit en lui envoyant le nouvel ouvrage de mr de voltaire<sup>4</sup> et il ma chargé de vous remercier du livre que vous luy avés présenté. je m'aquite avec grand plaisir de cette comission, parcequ'elle ne peut que vous être tres gracieuse et que dans toutes les occasions qui dependront de moy, je serai toujours charmés de vous rendre service. et cella par deux raisons la premiere par ce qu'en vous obligeant joblige un tres galant homme et la seconde parceque je vous considere comme un holandois. nom pour moy respectable, et qui m'est aussi cher que celui de jerusalem l'est au juifs.

oerois je vous prier au millieu des occupations de votre comerce, de faire mes plus tendres complimens a mr. de joncourt. Si vous en trouvés l'occasion dites luy je vous prie que je regarderai toujours le moment ou j'ai eu le plaisir de le connoitre comme un des plus heureux de ma vie.<sup>5</sup>

que fait le bon Monsieur marchand,<sup>6</sup> vit il encor? est il toujours fâché contre moy? il a grand tort car je vous jure que je n'ai jamais eu la moindre part a toutes les pieces que notre ami paupie<sup>7</sup> a mis dans le suplement du sixieme volume des

<sup>1</sup> The Moland edition contains no letters written by Voltaire to Néaulme before November 27, 1753, the date of d'Argens' letter.

<sup>2</sup> Frederick the Great.

<sup>3</sup> The trouble between Voltaire and Néaulme had its origin in the publication by Néaulme of a stolen manuscript of the first part of the *Essai sur les mœurs*, entitled: *Abrégé de l'Histoire universelle depuis Charlemagne jusques à Charlequin*, par M. de Voltaire (The Hague, 1753; 2 vols.; 12mo). In a letter dated at Colmar, December 28, 1753, Voltaire takes Néaulme to task for publishing "le livre intitulé *Abrégé de l'Histoire universelle*, dont vous dites avoir acheté le manuscrit à Bruxelles. ... En vérité, c'est la honte de la littérature. ... Presque chaque page est pleine de fautes absurdes. ... Il semble que vous ayez voulu me rendre ridicule et me perdre en imprimant cette informe rapsodie, et en y mettant mon nom. ... Vous avez gagné de l'argent: je vous en félicite" (Moland, XXXVIII, 151). For complete information concerning the quarrel between Voltaire and Néaulme, see G. Bengesco, *Voltaire—Bibliographie de ses œuvres*, I (1882), 329; Moland ed., correspondence of December, 1753, and January, 1754; an article by Louis-D. Petit, in *Le Livre, bibliographie rétrospective*, III (1882), 347-52; Moland ed., I, 327-30 ("Procès-verbal concernant un livre intitulé *Abrégé* ...").

<sup>4</sup> I.e., *Abrégé de l'Histoire universelle*.

<sup>5</sup> At the end of d'Argens' letter Néaulme added this note: "Le Marquis avoit vue M<sup>r</sup> joncourt à Bolleduc" [Bois-le-Duc, capital of the province of North Brabant, Holland]. Élie de Joncourt (1700-1770), for many years pastor of the Walloon church at Bois-le-Duc, was the son of a French clergyman who settled at The Hague about the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. For a list of his works, see Haag, *La France protestante*.

<sup>6</sup> Prosper Marchand (1675-1756), French bibliographer and scholar. A Picard by birth, he went to Holland in 1711 in order to enjoy greater freedom as a Protestant. He was the author of an *Histoire de l'Origine et des Premiers Progrès de l'imprimerie* (The Hague, 1740) and of a *Dictionnaire historique* (The Hague, 1758-59), a supplement to Bayle's dictionary. For a full list of his works, see Haag, *La France protestante*.

<sup>7</sup> Pierre Paupie, a libraire-éditeur of The Hague.



lettres cabalistiques.<sup>1</sup> elles ont été imprimées à mon insçu. vous sçavez bien que j'étois en allemagne lorsqu'elles parurent, et l'amitié qui a toujours été entre paupie et moy faisoit que je le laissois le maitre de faire ce qu'il vouloit sans m'en instruire.

à propos du sieur paupie, sil est à la haye vous le voies sans doute tres souvent, dites luy je vous prie que je l'aime encor de tout mon cœur—et autant que lorsque je faisois les lettres juives,<sup>2</sup> et que nous ecrivions des pamphlets contre le medecin de liege.<sup>3</sup>

je suis monsieur avec une consideration<sup>4</sup>  
votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur

LE MARQUIS D'ARGENS<sup>5</sup>

A POTSDAM ce 27 novemb. 1753.

[Address:]

MONSIEUR

MONSIEUR NEAULME

LIBRAIRE &

A LA HAYE

EN HOLLANDE

At the top of the first page of this letter is the following note by Néaulme:

Lettre du Marquis d'argens, que je joins ici pour preuve qu'il ma estimé et que sil à détourné son affection de ma maison pendent mon apsance, c'est la faute de ma Femme, à ce que je crois.

On the fourth page of the letter, this note by Néaulme:

Lettre du Marquis d'Argens qui prouve qu'il à u de l'Amitié pour moy.

Novemb. 1753

Cependent ensuite il à appuyer Bourdeaux<sup>6</sup> pendent mes àpsance il est très susceptible à recevoir des Présent.  
voila Comme les Hommes sont fait.

In the letter Néaulme underscored all passages that show the Marquis d'Argens' kindly feelings toward him.

<sup>1</sup> D'Argens' *Lettres cabalistiques*, the first edition of which was published by Paupie at The Hague in 1737. In later editions (e.g., that of 1770, VII, 126 ff., Lettre CLXX), d'Argens ridicules Marchand's *Histoire de L'Origine ... de l'imprimerie*.

<sup>2</sup> D'Argens' *Lettres juives* was first published at The Hague by Paupie in 1736.

<sup>3</sup> Aubert de la Chesnaye des Bois (1699-1784), a French polygraph, author of *Correspondance historique, philosophique et critique entre Ariate, Lisandre et quelques autres amis, pour servir de réponse aux "Lettres juives"* (The Hague: A. van Dole, 1737-38; 3 vols.; 8vo). For attacks on Aubert de la Chesnaye by d'Argens, see *Lettres cabalistiques* (1737 ed.), *Préface du traducteur* and Lettre XXV; also Lettre d'un très révérend père capucin du couvent de Liège, à M. Aubert de La Chesnaye, au sujet de la critique des "*Songes philosophiques*" (Liège, 1747; 8vo).

<sup>4</sup> The manuscript is torn here.

<sup>5</sup> Autograph, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dreer Collection, *French Prose Writers* (4 pp.; p. 3 blank; address on page 4; 4to).

<sup>6</sup> Étienne de Bourdeaux, translator of the following work: *Voyages de Mons. [Thomas] Shaw dans plusieurs provinces de la Barbarie* (The Hague, 1743; 2 vols.; 4to). Bourdeaux later became "Libraire du roi [Frederick the Great] et de la cour," at Berlin (Bengesco, *op. cit.*, I, 51).



V. VOLTAIRE TO MONSIEUR LAMBERT,<sup>1</sup> LIBRAIRE, À PARIS

quand jay seu que vous faisiez une edition de l'histoire generale<sup>2</sup> je vous ai recommandé tres instament monsieur de ne la point annoncer *augmentée*. je ne vous ai envoyé que deux ou trois additions au catalogue des gens de lettres, qui n'entre point dans le corps de l'histoire. ces petites corrections absolument necessaires ne contiennent pas un quart de feuille. ce serait tromper le public, me compromettre, et m'outrager que d'annoncer votre edition comme augmentée; je serais obligé de m'en plaindre dans tous les journaux. jay droit dailleurs de me plaindre a vous meme de ce que vous ne m'avez pas répondu quand je vous ay prié de ne point induire le public en erreur par le titre d Edition *augmentée*. j'apprends aussi que votre édition des œuvres mêlées nest pas conforme a celle qu'on a faite sous mes yeux. vous sentez que j'en dois etre peiné. aussi vous ne me l'avez pas envoyée. j'attendais de vous plus d'attention quoyque vous ne soyez pas trop exact. comptez encor une fois que le public vous saura tres mauvais gré d'annoncer comme *augmenté* ce qui ne l'est pas. je vous prie tres instament de ne pas hazarder de lui déplaire pour un mot qui ne trompera personne. je ne puis trop insister sur cette priere et j'attends de votre amitié et de votre probité que vous ne me refuserez pas. comptez que je reconnaitrai cette attention par mes sentiments

VOLTAIRE.<sup>3</sup>

AUX DELICES 23 avril [1757].

[Address:]

A MONSIEUR

MONSIEUR LAMBERT LIBRAIRE

PRÈS DE LA COMEDIE FRANÇ

FAUXB ST. GERMAIN

A PARIS

## VI. VOLTAIRE TO ———?

AUX DELICES 9 aout  
1762

j'enverrai chercher monsieur chez m cathala<sup>4</sup> les 120 louis d'or que vous avez eu la bonté de m'envoyer. tout ce que vous avez fourni a madame denis sera a ma charge. et doresnavant les nouveaux frais quelle pourra faire seront levez sur les 120 louis que vous voulez bien m'envoyer par mois. vous retiendrez sur ces cent

<sup>1</sup> Lambert, according to unsubstantiated information gathered by the police of the time, was Voltaire's son.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., *Essai sur l'Histoire générale*, in Lambert's edition of the *Œuvres de M. de Voltaire. Nouvelle édition, considérablement augmentée* (Paris, 1757; 22 vols.; 12mo). (Another edition of the same, 1757, 20 vols., small 8vo.) Lambert's first edition of Voltaire's works (11 vols.; small 8vo) appeared in Paris in 1751.

<sup>3</sup> Autograph, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dreer Collection, *French Prose Writers* (4 pp.; p. 3 blank; address on page 4; 4to). In the *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, XV (1909), 798-819 (*Lettres inédites de Voltaire au libraire Lambert*), M. Fernand Caussy reproduced the analysis of the first two-fifths of this letter that appeared in Laverdet's catalogue (1856).

<sup>4</sup> Cathala, a banker of Geneva, was one of the advisers of the Calas family. For Voltaire's letters to Cathala concerning the Calas affair, see Moland, XLII, 107, 184, 191, 197.

vingt louis le payement de ces bagatelles dont vous avez la complaisance de procurer les emplettes et l'employ. vous etes trop bon. nous sommes elle et moy penetrez de reconnaissance.

permettez que je vous adresse pour 13000 f. de lettres de change sur lyon. vous connaissez monsieur les sentiments avec les quels je serai toute ma vie votre trumb obeiss

Str

VOLTAIRE.<sup>1</sup>

## VII. VOLTAIRE TO MONSIEUR DE CANDOLLE

In Voltaire's old age, a Norman sea captain named Berard sailed away, taking with him a considerable sum of money belonging to the Patriarch of Ferney. On January 14, 1771, Voltaire wrote to Maigret:

Je vous demande en grâce de vouloir bien prendre un peu mon parti auprès de M. Berard. Il faut que je fournisse de l'or tous les jours à mes colons qui travaillent en horlogerie. ... Monseigneur le duc de Bouillon fera subsister deux cents personnes, s'il ordonne à M. Berard de me payer tout ce qui m'est dû.<sup>2</sup>

On January 6, 1777, Voltaire had not yet recovered his money, as is shown by the following witty lines in a letter to the Marquis de Florian:

Le sieur Berard, capitaine de notre vaisseau l'*Hercule*,<sup>3</sup> et du *Carnatic*, que nous avions envoyé aux Indes, et qui était revenu à Lorient, vient de repartir avec notre argent, sans prendre congé de personne, et prend le chemin du Bengale, au lieu de nous payer; mais il n'y a pas moyen d'envoyer après lui la justice en pleine mer, comme dans les *Fourberies de Scapin*. On dit que le scélérat comptera avec nous dans cinq ans au plus tard, et que nous ne perdrons, avec ce marin de Normandie, qu'environ quatre-vingt-dix pour cent.<sup>4</sup>

The following unpublished note contains a brief mention of Berard:

MONSIEUR  
MONSIEUR DE CANDOLE<sup>5</sup>  
BANQUIER  
DERRIERE LE RONE  
GENEVE

[1774]<sup>6</sup> 8 mars A FERNEY.

<sup>1</sup> Autograph, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Gratz Collection, *French Authors* (4 pp.; last three pages blank; 4to).

<sup>2</sup> Moland, XLVII, 324.

<sup>3</sup> Upon reaching France (before May 27, 1774), the *Hercule*, owned by Voltaire and some Genevese, was destroyed by lightning (see *ibid.*, XLVIII, 562; XLIX, 9 and 242; also Ch. Charrot, in *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, XX [1913], 192).

<sup>4</sup> Moland, I, 170.

<sup>5</sup> Augustin de Candolle (1736-1821) held several public offices in his native city, Geneva. His son, Augustin-Pyramus de Candolle, the celebrated botanist, says in his *Mémoires* (Geneva, 1862, p. 7): "Mon père ayant fait le commerce de banque avec succès dans sa jeunesse, se voua dès l'âge de trente-deux ans aux fonctions publiques. ..."

<sup>6</sup> The year is not in Voltaire's hand.

MONSIEUR

je vous suis tres obligé d'avoir bien voulu minstruire de mon sort. des que vous m'assurez de mon payement, votre parole doit me satisfaire. Vous me permettez de profiter de vos offres quand j'aurai besoin d'argent.

je ne doute pas de la probité de Monsieur Berard puisquil est votre ami. jay lhonneur d'etre

5423. 5  
 3½  
 16269. 15  
 2711. 12. 6  
 18981. 7. 6  
 189. 16  
 63. 5  
 19234. 8

Monsieur  
 votre tres humble et  
 tres obeissant serviteur

VOLTAIRE.<sup>1</sup>

RICHMOND LAURIN HAWKINS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

## THE MARRIAGE CONTRACT OF LA CALPRENÈDE

La Calprenède, seventeenth-century novelist, rival of Mlle de Scudéry for the favor of the *précieux* reading-public, is known principally to modern scholars through the *Historiettes* of Tallemant des Réaux. Most of Tallemant's information concerning La Calprenède appears to be exact; but, in one case, at least, he makes an erroneous statement which has become a part of the legendary history of the author of *Cassandra*, *Cléopâtre*, and *Faramond*. The statement made by Tallemant follows: "Calprenède alloit chez une madame Boiste, où une petite estourdie de veuve, appelée Madame de Brac,<sup>2</sup> le vit; elle estoit folle de ses romans, et elle l'espousa, à condition qu'il acheveroit la *Cleopatre*; cela fut mis dans le *Contract*."<sup>3</sup> The falsity of this passage can be demonstrated only by an examination of the marriage contract, which has never before been published, and, to the best of my knowledge, has never been examined by any modern scholar. It is found now in the office of Maître Durant des Aulnois, *notaire*, 15 Rue Tronchet, Paris. M. des Aulnois has in his *Minutier* all of the papers of Rallu and Paisant, the notaries who drew up the contract. The manuscript is contained in three sheets, folio size; there is a blank of one and one-half inches at the top of the recto of the

<sup>1</sup> Autograph, Harvard University Library, Sumner 26, III, No. 96 (4 pp.: pp. 2 and 3 blank, address on p. 4; 4to).

<sup>2</sup> This lady, future wife of the author, is herself a very interesting figure; I shall discuss her as fully as possible in a forthcoming study on La Calprenède.

<sup>3</sup> *Historiettes* (Paris: Techener, 1862), V, 232. (The italics are mine.)

first sheet, a blank of four and one-half inches at the top of the verso of the first sheet, a blank of seven inches at the bottom of the recto of the third sheet, and the verso of the third sheet is entirely blank; the passages which are written on the margins, the signatures of the principals, etc., are noted in my transcription. I have left the spelling, the punctuation, and the capitalization exactly as I found them in the manuscript of the contract. The text of this manuscript follows:

6 decembre 1648

[*Recto*] Pardevant les notaires garde-nottes du roy au Chastelet de Paris soubz signez furent presentes de leur personnes Messire Gaultier de Costes chevalier seigneur de la Calprenede Toulgoud et autres lieux demeurant ordinairement en sa maison de Toulgoud pres Sarlat pays de Perigord estant de present en ceste ville de Paris logé au Marais du Temple rue du Perche Paroisse Saint Nicolas des champs pour luy et en son nom d'une part et dame Magdalaine de Lyée dame du Couldray Hurtemiot Saint Jean et autres lieux Veufve en premieres noces de feu Messire Jean de Vieuxpons Vivant chevallier seigneur de Cornipins Champobert la Grande Bretesche et autres lieux et en dernieres de Messire Arnoul de Braque Vivant chevallier seigneur de Vaulart et de Chasteauvert demeurante ordinairement au Couldray bailliage de Rouen en Normandie estant aussi de present en ceste ville de Paris logée vieille rue du Temple Paroisse Saint Gervais pour elle et en son nom d'autre part lesquels volontairement en la presence et par ladvis de Francois de Baillot seigneur de la Dornas cousin maternel dudict sieur et de Messire Gaultier de Peny conseiller et maistre d'hostel du roy tresorier de France a Limoges aussi [*Verso*] cousin ont recognu et confessé avoir faict les traité accordz et conventions de mariage que au plaisir de Dieu ils esperent faire solemniser en face de nostre mere sainte Eglise et soubz la licence d'icelle dans le plus brief temps que faire se pourra aux clauses et conditions qui ensuivent c'est assavoir que lesdictz sieur et dame futurs espoux declarent qu'ils veullent et entendent que leur dict mariage en toutes ses conditions soit faict regi et observé suivant et conformement a la coustume de Normandie selon les us et dispositions d'icelle bien que iceluy sieur et dame futurs espoux demeurassent et fissent acquisitions ailleurs nonobstant toutes autres coustumes et loix au contraires aux quelles ils ont desrogé et renoncé desrogent et renoncent par ces presentes.<sup>1</sup> [*Recto*] Mesmes a la coustume de la prevoste et viconté de Paris quoyque le present contract soit faict en ceste ville en faveur duquel mariage ledict sieur de Calprenede futur espoux a donné et donne par ces presentes a ladicte dame de Braque sa future espouse le tiers de tous et chacuns ses biens qu'il a et possede a present pour en jouir par ladicte dame sa vie durante seulement et apres sa mort viendra et appartiendra aux enfans qui naistront de leur mariage pour leur sortir nature de propre. Et au cas qu'il n'y ayt point d'enfant ou qu'ils vinssent a deceder auparavant leur majorité ladicte dame leur survivans ensemble audict sieur de la Calprenede ledict tiers de tous les dictz biens d'Icelluy sieur de la Calprenede futur Espoux appartiendra en propriété aladicte dame future espouse pour en disposer ainay qu'elle advisera au cas comme dict est le predecedz dudict sieur de la Calprenede et non autrement. Et de la part de ladicte dame de Braque future

<sup>1</sup> At this point, the end of the verso of the first sheet, the principals and the witnesses signed their names in the same manner and order as at the end of the contract.

espouse en faveur et contemplation dudict mariage (Icelle dictie dame)<sup>1</sup> a donné et donne audict sieur de la Calprenede futur Espoux en pure propriété la troisieme partie de tous et chacuns ses biens qu'elle a ameublis pour cest effect et generalement tout ce que le droit les ordonnances et speciallement ladictie coustume de Normandie soubz laquelle ledict mariage et toutes [Verso] les conventions d'icelluy seront regies comme Il est cydessus dict luy permest de donner audict sieur futur Espoux bien que ne sont plus particulièrement specifié faisant ladictie dame a cest effect toutes declarations amobilliations renonciations desrogations et autres choses a ce requises et necessaires. (Ne seront lesdictz sieur et dame futurs espoux tenus de debtes l'un de l'autre qui se trouveront faictes auparavant leur mariage et si aucunes y a se payeront ou acquitteront par celuy qui les aura contractées et sur son bien.)<sup>2</sup> Le survivant desdictz sieur et dame futurs espoux prendra outre les susdictes donations sur les biens l'un de l'autre et du predecédé: savoir ledict sieur futur Espoux pour ses armes et chevaux et la dame future espouse pour ses bagues et joyaux reciproquement la somme de six mil livres tournois Et a l'effect que dessus constistent et accordent lesdictz sieur et dame futurs espoux le present contract de mariage estre tesmoins en justice partout ou besoing sera. Pour quoy faire ont faict et constitué leur procureur l'un et l'autre le porteur des presentes auquel ils donnent pouvoir de ce faire et d'en retirer tous actes qu'il appartiendra pour leur servir et valloir Car ainsy tout ce que dessus a esté dict convenu et accordé entre lesdictz sieur et dame futurs espoux promettant l'entretenir soubz l'obligation de tous et chacuns leurs biens presens et advenir qu'ilz ont soubzmis a Justice renoncans de part et d'autre a toutes choses a ce contraires faict [Recto] et passé a Paris en la maison ou ladictie dame est a presen logée dictie vieille rue du Temple l'an mil six cent quarantehuit le dimanche apres midy sixiesme jour de decembre et ont lesdictz sieur et dame signé ces presentes avec lesdictz sieurs de la Dornas et de Peny.

GAUTIER DE COSTES<sup>3</sup>DE PENY<sup>3</sup>RALLU<sup>3</sup>MAGDELAINE DELIÉE<sup>3</sup>LA DORNAS<sup>3</sup>PAISANT<sup>3</sup>

A perusal of the text given above shows that Tallemant was entirely wrong in his assertion that the completion of the *Cléopâtre* was one of the conditions in the marriage contract of La Calprenède. In fact, no indication is given in the contract that La Calprenède was an author, an omission which fits in very well with his constant assertions in his own *Préfaces*, etc., that he considered himself a nobleman and a soldier primarily, and that he wrote books merely as *divertissements*.

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<sup>1</sup> Words inclosed in parentheses are written on the margin of the MS and signed by the principals and witnesses.

<sup>2</sup> See note above.

<sup>3</sup> Signatures.



